

~~Edw. H. H. H.~~  
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L I F E

OF

FREDERICK THE SECOND,  
KING OF PRUSSIA.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

OBSERVATIONS,

AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

AND

A VARIETY OF ANECDOTES.

*By Jean Charles Thibault de Louvain.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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L I F E  
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F R E D E R I C K II.

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THE PEACE ADMINISTRATION.

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S I X T H P E R I O D.

HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF FREDERICK II.  
DURING THE PEACE.

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**F**EARFUL of interrupting the detail of the military achievements of Frederick, we have, hitherto, forbore to make his civil administration the subject of our inquiries. It is now our duty to resume so interesting a topic, and to prove that this great man was no less distinguished during the arts of peace than amidst the tumults of war. Silesia offered to him a new province, of which the former principles of government presented a striking dissimilarity from those peculiar to the Prussian states. The changes

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which

which he effected in that country furnished him with the opportunity of developing his genius in the science of administration; and by following him in his operations in this province, we shall discover the general principles of the Prussian polity. We shall see a new country spring forth from the creative hands of Frederick, and this wonderful man will rise before us in a different point of view, to challenge our admiration.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF SILESIA.

When we consider that no possible resources, either in Silesia or his other states, and *these*, all, calculated rapidly to obliterate the very traces of a destructive war, escaped the penetrating eye of Frederick; we cannot but conclude that his principles of administration must have been infinitely more perfect than those by which Silesia had heretofore been governed. During the whole war of seven years, the king had never laid any fresh impost, never exacted a single advance from his subjects, nor had recourse to one foreign loan; yet the payment of his army was never delayed a moment. Not content with this, immediately after the peace, he remitted to Silesia the taxes of six months, distributed in the country 17,000 horses for the purposes of agriculture, and opened his magazines, and those of the Russians in Poland, which he had purchased, to furnish the husbandman with bread and seed corn. At the same time, he set on foot the project of rebuilding all the towns



towns and villages, and studied every means of augmenting population and industry.

The war had diminished the population of Silesia at the rate of more than 150,000 souls. In 1756, it amounted to 1,300,000 men, including the garrisons; in 1763, there were no more than 1,150,000; in 1776, the numbers had arisen to 1,372,754. Thus, in the course of thirteen years, not only was the vacuum occasioned by the war filled up, but the population was augmented by 72,754 souls. The registers seem to prove, that, under the present reign, the population of Silesia encreases, *communibus annis*, to the amount of 5000 souls, without reckoning foreign settlers.

Let us, now, compare this progress with the traces which the war had left in Silesia under the preceding reigns; let us compare it with that of other states, where extraordinary imposts, exacted for a long series of years, scarcely suffice to extinguish the debts occasioned by war. When Frederick conquered Silesia, the traveller still beheld, in the greatest part of the towns and villages, the traces of the devastation of the war with the Swedes, the fire of which had been extinguished for a century. On every side was the appearance of the ruins of edifices burnt, and of towns, the limits of which no longer offered any object to the eye, but a few scattered houses reared upon heaps of ashes. The farms were abandoned, and lands, which had been taken by violence from their possessors, were become a barren waste, without care, and without cultivation. Thus, under the house of Austria, a whole age had not sufficed to efface the footsteps of devastation,



tation, or to restore agriculture and population, whilst, under the reign of Frederick, but fourteen years after the seven years war, which did not occasion fewer ravages than that of thirty years, it became scarcely possible to discover more than the slight remains of conflagration in the towns, and of a small quantity of land neglected in the country. Fifteen considerable towns, built heretofore of beams laid one upon another, in the manner of the Poles, arise out of their ruins, at the command of Frederick, in the form of stone buildings, at once regular and commodious. (1)

Some time after the war, the fortress of Silberberg, the construction of which cost many tons of gold, reared up its head amidst the rocks; and a new regiment was embodied for its garrison; throughout Silesia new forts were erected, and the old ones repaired and augmented. (2)

All the farms which were abandoned, have found new masters; some hundreds of new villages have sprung up in the country by the care of Frederick, peopled with new inhabitants, all of whom are attracted there by this wise monarch. From his generosity have they received commodious dwellings, cattle, and lands to cultivate.

Notwithstanding all these expences, and many others which were incurring at the same moment in all the provinces of the state, the military forces remained, as it were, on the same footing as in time of war; and if a few free battalions were reduced, on the other hand new regiments were embodied. Silesia contains 16 regiments of infantry, and 11 of cavalry;  
in

in all 40,000 men, maintained out of the revenues of that province.

If we calculate the sums employed, immediately after the war, in improvements, or new establishments, it will appear that the king of Prussia's treasury was very far from being exhausted, as the world imagined; a circumstance, perhaps, not less astonishing than the issue of the war. At a period more ignorant and credulous, it would have been thought that Frederick had discovered the secret of making gold, and this prince might have passed for a forcerer. In our days, numbers would attribute all these resources to a considerable augmentation of revenue. They would be in as great an error as the former. To maintain the sources of revenue in abundance, it is not sufficient to oppress the people. A short sketch of the new system of finances introduced by Frederick into Silesia immediately after the conquest of that province, will render this sufficiently evident. This province had been the theatre of a new military art; it presented the world likewise with the example of a new administration.

It is clear, that a province, the revenues of which maintain an army of 40,000 men, always ready to take the field at a week's notice, is governed on principles of administration very different from what it was subject to, when it could scarcely maintain two thousand. (3) As long as the system of great armies shall prevail in Europe, the first problem of political administration will be, to find the means of keeping the greatest possible number of soldiers constantly on foot,

and ready to march, in the manner the least burthen-some to the subject.

This problem, in other countries the source of fruitless investigation to multitudes of ministers and comptrollers general, had been determined upon in Prussia under the reign of Frederick-William. When Frederick II. mounted the throne, and had conquered Silesia, he tried how far the problem could be accomplished in that province. The spirit of order, activity, and simplicity every where followed the king. The plan of the new arrangements appears to have been long prepared. The following was its object :

1st. The arrangement of the sums necessary for the support of the army in Silesia, as well as for that of the civil officers, and the other wants of the province ; in which, as we may imagine, was included a surplus for extraordinary exigencies.

2dly. The most exact equality in the impositions, and repartition of the sums to be furnished by the province.

3dly. The greatest facility and simplicity in the collection of the imposts.

4thly. The most rigid administration, and the most accurate distribution and calculation of the revenues, in consequence of authentic memorials and statements.

Under the last reign of the house of Austria, the revenues of Silesia arose, 1st, from the domains, tolls, exchequer fines, duties on salt, and a tribute from the Jews. 2dly. From the contributions granted by the province, all these revenues, taken together, amounted, under the reign of Charles VI. to two millions and a half



half of crowns. The voluntary tribute of the states granted to that emperor amounted, in 1739, to 1,704,932 crowns. This sum was levied from the people by an excise, and, when insufficient, by partial taxes on landed property, on provisions, beer, and dancing. The states had the power of imposing these taxes at their pleasure, and their receivers, of levying them as they thought proper. This liberty they regarded as the proof of a *free gift*; but, in fact, it was no more than a mere formality. The court always demanded what they chose, and the states were obliged to pay it.

Frederick, immediately after the conquest of this province, declared, that he required nothing for the maintenance of the troops necessary for its defence, but the excise paid in the towns, and for the country; or, in other words, the sum of 1,704,932 crowns as paid to Charles VI. in 1739. To *this* the province assented. In the country, excise of every kind was abolished, and the contribution of the provinces ascertained, and fixed for ever. As the king himself undertook the repartition, and all the expences of collection, the assembly of the states, and the grand directory of the imposts, became useless, and were of course suppressed: in the room of which the king instituted, for the administration of the revenues, duties, and domains, as well as for that of the police, two chambers of domains, the one at Breslaw, the other at Glogau; and he named a particular minister, to whom he entrusted the care of this department.

The surest mode of alleviating the weight of im-



positions, is to make an equal and proportionate repartition of them, on objects subject to imposts, as on lands, and their produce. The question, therefore, is to appreciate and determine this produce as accurately as possible. The first care of the Prussian commission was, accordingly, to introduce a general survey or exact state of all the objects liable to pay taxes, and of the produce of those objects. This work occupied, for two years, an inconsiderable number of counsellors of the domains, œconomists, and calculators, and cost the king but 20,000 crowns; yet, according to the judgment of connoisseurs, this is the completest and most exact survey that can be made. It extends to every object in the country susceptible of taxation; lands, meadows, gardens, forests, ponds, mills, cattle, &c. and to every production which a possessor, although not more than tolerably active, may turn to profit.

To effect this business, they had recourse to ancient avowals and surveys, made under the preceding reigns. These surveys, which had cost the province a million of crowns, and upon which an Imperial commission had laboured for twenty years, were not yet finished at the death of Charles VI. In the new researches, it was discovered that there was neither order nor accuracy in these surveys. A few examples will suffice to shew how well founded the complaints of the subjects were respecting the repartition of the imposts, and how little the Imperial commission had remedied abuses, after consuming so much time and money. Some estates of 1000 crowns yearly value  
were

were taxed at 800, whilst others of 2000 crowns a year paid but 200. In many places evident traces were found of partiality and injustice. It was too manifest that the commissioners had frequently shut their eyes on fraudulent valuations, especially when the proprietors were men of rank and affluence. The estates of prince Karolat, which produce upwards of 20,000 crowns, in these surveys were valued only at 3245; whilst an adjoining estate of 4500 crowns rent, was loaded with 2000 crowns annual contribution. (4)

It was clear, therefore, that such statements could never serve as a basis for the new operations. The commissioners had express orders to draw out an exact state of all property subject to taxation, and of its produce. To attain this object, they examined the surveyor's registers, the papers of the landholders, the prices of articles in the markets, and they also collected the testimonies of different persons upon oath. As most productions are subject to rise and fall, they took an average price from the current value of several successive years. In general, the lands were valued according to the ordinary fertility of each district, and the mean price of their productions. An example will illucidate this remark. In the first class, which is that of the best lands, the bushel of seed corn was estimated at six bushels produce, the price of the bushel of wheat was estimated at 24 gros, (5) and the produce of a cow at no more than seven crowns a year. In the three following classes, the prices and the valuations are proportionably lower, and

and always greatly under the actual produce. Exclusive of these points, allowances were made for inundations, dearth, and other accidents to which the grounds lying on the banks of rivers are exposed. These are ranged in the last class, and, of course, the contributions in it are less considerable.

Another advantage of this general survey is, that it extends to all classes of proprietors. Silesia is the only country where the lands of the bishop, the clergy, chapters, convents, princes, and nobility, are subject to the tax as well as those of the peasant, and where the sovereign himself pays it for his domains, as the lowest of his gentlemen does for his estate. The contribution of the royal bailiwicks in Silesia amounts yearly to about 30,000 crowns. It is evident that so general a repartition must lighten as much as possible the burthen of each contributor.

When the survey was completed, and the whole produce estimated in money, the next question was to fix the scale on which this was annually to be raised on each gross produce, under the title of impost; and this was done as follows:

The royal domains, the estates of princes, nobles, curates, and masters of schools, were taxed at 28 1-3d per cent. of their annual produce.

The lands of peasants at 34 per cent.

Those of the orders of chivalry at 40 per cent.

Those of the bishop, the clergy, chapters, and convents, at 50 per cent.

These taxes are founded on the principles of natural equity, and keep in view either the more or less considerable



siderable utility of each class of proprietors, as connected with the common welfare of society. Nor is it contrary to this principle that the peasant should pay something more than the gentleman. Formerly, the gentlemen had enjoyed their estates on paying less duties: now, had this tax been suddenly augmented, the value of the land would have diminished at the same time, without any fault on the part of the proprietor. The lands of the peasants, on the contrary, by the tax of 34 per cent. pay less than formerly, and consequently have encreased in value. In the new survey, the gentleman is set down for several casual taxes, the produce of which is subject to various accidents, such as hunting, shooting, fishing, the right of distilling brandy, of brewing beer, &c. It is considered, likewise, that the gentleman spends more money than the peasant, that he is subject to a greater number of fictitious wants, and has many more people to maintain.

After all, if we compare these taxes, moderate in themselves, with the real produce of the lands and their improvements, we shall find, that, in general, the imposts on the nobility and peasants hardly amount to 25 per cent. or one quarter of their actual revenue. (6)

At this day it will be felt in every country, even in those where superstition has converted idleness into a religious duty, that the possessors of rich ecclesiastical benefices would not pay too much in giving 99 per cent. to the state, to indemnify it in some measure for the good they might procure it, did they  
not



not pass their lives in inactivity and celibacy. Is it not a sufficient loss to the public, that a pious ignorance should have bestowed rich possessions on persons destined, by their vocation and their vows, to live in poverty, humility, and moderation? Do not governments reflect, that the administration and cultivation of such lands might maintain as many fruitful and laborious families, as they now do individuals condemned by profession to sterility and indolence? In Silesia are convents of 30 or 40 monks, with an income of 50,000 crowns. These estates, divided into 30 or 40 farms, would procure nutriment and other necessities for the same number of families, who would soon add some hundreds of men to population. We know, likewise, that the estates of convents and of chapters are situated in the most fertile countries, and that priests and monks must, from profession, be the very worst of cultivators. How can a monk acquire the knowledge and experience necessary for a proper cultivation? How can we expect an abbé to carry his attention to his estates beyond the object of his own enjoyment, or trouble himself concerning the advantage of a successor, who is indifferent to him if unknown, and not unfrequently odious, if he falls within his knowledge.

As much may be said of the grand commanderies, those shameful traces of the extravagance of Christian Europe. A tax of 50 per cent. is little enough, surely, on men, who, without any sensible merit, without the legitimate means of contributing to population, quietly enjoy the revenue of many estates which might

might provide for the maintenance of a great number of laborious and useful citizens.

The king, who had engaged by treaties of peace to leave the affairs of the clergy in Silesia in the state in which he had found them, could not, however, exact less than 50 per cent. of them, to redress, in some measure, the just complaints of the most useful and most industrious classes of society, who were loaded with exorbitant impositions. Be that as it may, it can safely be asserted that these estates produce one third more than the rate at which they are estimated in the survey; so that their real contribution does not exceed the fourth of their value.

The lands of Silesia were estimated at 80 millions of crowns, and the mean produce at six millions yearly. The annual impost produces rather more than 1,700,000 crowns; which makes an average of about 28 per cent. on the whole produce. Now, if we deduct from this the annual accidents, and the sums remitted to the proprietors on account of sterility, hail-storms, fires, mortality amongst the cattle, &c. it will be found that they really pay not more than 25 per cent. of their revenue. It must be remarked, that all improvements and cleared-out lands are exempt from taxes. An estate once valued in the survey, can never be augmented, should it even by labour and industry attain a double or treble produce.

Besides the landholders, there are a great many artificers and labourers in Silesia who work and live in the country. As this class of men are neither subject  
to

to the land tax nor to the excise, a small impost is levied on them under the title of *industry*. This tax, laid on inhabitants, millers, smiths, innkeepers, &c. is never less than one crown, nor more than eight, according to the profession of the parties, and the annual profit they may derive from it, produces to the king about 150,000 crowns. Spinners of flax and wool are exempt from this tax, as well as weavers.

The *taille*, or contribution, then, forms the only impost on the country. According to the foregoing calculation, it produces, with the *industry* tax, about 1,850,000 crowns. Each village has its state of repartition, and has known, during the course of thirty preceding years, the invariable impost to which it is subject. The collection of these taxes is conducted in the simplest and easiest manner possible. The whole province is divided into 48 circles, named after the town which is situated in the centre. Each circle has its particular provincial counsellor, with a receiver subordinate to the former. In each village, the mayor, or *procureur fiscal*, levies the stated impost every month, carries it on a certain day to the treasury of the domains; and each proprietor of an estate does the same. Towards the end of the same month this treasury sends the receipt of the whole circle to Breslaw or to Glogau. The first city has a department of 32 circles, and the second of 16. These treasuries are also called treasuries of war, as they serve to maintain the army.

The taxes of each month must be fully paid into the treasury; and if the contributor has suffered any damage



damage by an accident, such as fire, hail-storms, loss of cattle, &c. the provincial counsellor examines the loss, and values it: the proprietor, however, must still pay his whole tax into the treasury at the appointed day; but the general treasury reimburses him the sum in ready cash. This arrangement makes it habitual for the contributor to pay his whole impost every month, which is not difficult from its moderate account; and when he receives an indemnification in ready money, he considers it as so much profit, and a succour afforded him by government. To this simple order is it owing, that, amidst the rage of war, the receipt of taxes so seldom was retarded.

As every contributor knows the duty he is to pay monthly and annually, he is never afraid of having more exacted from him than the stipulated sum. The provincial counsellors, who are chosen from amongst the nobility of the circle, or who, at least, are obliged to reside in it, in order to bestow a constant attention on the affairs of their department and the interest of the sovereign, are answerable for the exact collection of the taxes.

There are very rarely any arrears, and when a proprietor neglects bringing his contribution at the stated time, it argues in general a want of œconomy and of order. The means then employed to obtain the contribution, are of a nature to correct his negligence and deficiency of method, and to augment the produce of his land. Not only dragoons or soldiers of the circle are sent to execute them, but the manner in which he manages his property is examined,  
and



and it is submitted to public administration. The proprietor of an estate neglected, or indebted, receives a subsistence, and the remainder of his revenues is applied to the payment of taxes, his debts, engagements, &c. and the improvement of his property.

This new plan of administration was established in Silesia in 1743. The edict which announced it may pass for a model of wisdom and perspicuity of its kind. (7) The king there explains his views with expressions truly paternal. He promises the province, for himself and his successors, never to augment their taxes, so long as matters remain on the present footing; or, more properly, whilst they shall suffice for the maintenance of the army, and the necessities of the province. Without this latter clause, Frederick's successor might be embarrassed in making any necessary changes in this respect; if, indeed, there can be any such embarrassment in a country where, in fact, the only fundamental law is the will of the monarch. And in truth, who can say that in the course of a few years the same sum will be sufficient for the same wants? For, if the mass of specie continues regularly to augment, as it has done in Europe for the last three hundred years, the price of commodities of every kind must encrease one third in the course of a century, and the maintenance of an army be encreased in the same proportion. It is probable, therefore, if not certain, that, in a hundred years, the present taxes will not suffice for that object, even supposing there should be no augmentation to the army. Under the reign of Frederick II. however, the rate of impost never varied,  
though

though a considerable addition was made to the army, though several fortresses were constructed, and the general price of articles had greatly risen since its establishment.

One advantage of the excise over other duties is, that the produce is proportioned to the encrease of consumption and population. This second source of revenue, destined to maintain a military force, is every day becoming more and more productive in Silesia, since the peace. It extends to every species of merchandize and productions, which contribute either to the sustenance, the luxury, or conveniencies of life. It is certain that this mode of taxation is the best adapted to towns, and the least felt by the inhabitants; yet it is contrary to the laws of the empire, which forbid taxes on articles of consumption. The excise in towns is the most ingenious invention that has ever been produced in political administration. It seems hard, I own, not to be allowed to eat an egg, to drink a glass of beer, or light a candle, without paying a previous duty; but, this duty is so paid as to be in a manner imperceptible to the consumer. The countryman, who brings his eggs to market, pays the excise a *fening* at the gate, which he recovers on the price. The citizen who purchases the eggs, never dreams that he is paying at the same time a *fening* duty to the king; as he who drinks a bottle of beer does not reflect that the duty has been already advanced by the brewer, whom he reimburses in paying for his bottle.

The produce of the excise is so intimately connected with the welfare and population of the towns, as to in-

spire the sovereign with the most powerful motives to augment both the one and the other; motives which had but a feeble existence under the government of the house of Austria, when taxation was confined to houses and estates. This sort of impost, as immoveable as the objects on which it is laid, is susceptible of no sensible augmentation; whereas the produce of the excise encreases, and diminishes, in proportion to the number and consumption of the inhabitants; a motive which is alone sufficient, in our days, to encourage population and industry in towns. At all events, it is proved, that this manner of contributing to the public burthen, at least does no injury to their population and encrease.

But, this duty can only be reckoned upon with some degree of certainty in walled towns, without which, frauds will give occasion to continual disorders. In villages and large burghs, the constant care that would be necessary to prevent smuggling, would consume a great part of the receipt: this determined Frederick to abolish the excise throughout the country, and to confine it to the towns as their only impost.

The collection of the excise is made by receivers and comptrollers, stationed in every town; and at the gates officers are placed to examine all who enter, and to prevent smuggling. These employments furnish a subsistence to some thousands of invalids. Their business is so simple and so clear, that nothing more is necessary to enable them to perform their duty, than the exactness and punctuality they have acquired with their regiments. The habit they are in, of contenting them-



themselves with very moderate pay, makes it easy for them to subsist on a few crowns a month. They have but little inclination to be seduced by the hope of gain, as a much smaller income satisfies them, than others who may not have received, like them, a Spartan education.

Every month the collectors of the excise transmit their receipt to the treasury of war and domains; and this revenue is applied, as well as the territorial impost, to the maintenance of the troops. The excise is said to have produced in 1766 about a million of crowns. It is calculated, that the consumers in the towns pay, one with another, at least a crown a head. This duty falls on the food and cloathing, with which the poorest cannot dispense. An ordinary workman consumes, annually, at least six bushels of corn; the excise receives 6 gros per bushel, and, consequently,  $\frac{1}{11}$  5th of a crown annually, without reckoning drink and other necessaries.

The Silesians found this impost the more tolerable, as they were already accustomed to it in the preceding reign. The universality of the imposition, the augmentation in the price of commodities, and of labour, which has increased in proportion, the simplicity of the collection; all these circumstances soon rendered it less burthensome, and, in the end, almost imperceptible.

The first circumstance to be attended to, to lessen the weight of this impost, is in fixing the rate of it on each object, to proportion it to its necessity, as that may be more or less indispensable. It is a principle

not to be contested, that all articles of the first necessity for the laborious class of the people, such as bread, drink, fuel, cloathing, &c. should be taxed at the lowest possible rate. By these means, the class the most numerous, and most useful to the state, may live at a smaller expence, and content themselves with a more moderate profit. It is on this class, and on the abundance of raw materials, that the low price of merchandize and manufactures, and the whole benefit of commerce, depend. Such are the principles which have guided Frederick II. in all his operations of finance. The pay of the troops is proportioned to the moderate price of necessaries.

If we examine, however, on the principles we have been establishing, the taxes laid at the commencement on Silesia, on articles of the first necessity, they will appear very considerable. Wheat and rye, which have already paid under the tax on land, are rated at the fifth of their average value; beer and brandy, at one fourth; flesh meat pays from the 10th to the 6th part of its worth; which taxes have proportionably augmented their price at market. This appears the more striking, as there are many objects of art, and superfluities, which pay very moderately. None of these articles, except coffee, tea, chocolate, Spanish snuff, &c. are taxed at one third of their value: oysters, lampreys, Westphalia hams, foreign wines, Hamburgh capons, foreign cloths, laces, silk stuffs, monkeys, bears, parrots, pay only one tenth of their value: a comedian, a rope dancer, a tumbler, pay each of them a crown a day; a puppet-show man, half a crown; a quack

quack doctor, a slight-of-hand man, and an exhibitor of the magic lantern, four gros.

But, experience has proved, that the taxes on articles of the first necessity have not too much encreased their price, either for the citizen or the soldier. Population, industry, commerce, and agriculture, flourish. It is a general remark, that, when bread is at too low a price, the working people are less active and diligent. It is not possible to force them to earn more than they have occasion to spend; whereas necessity inspires them with double activity, when they cannot live but at a double expence. The manufactures of linen and cloths, which form the principal objects of commerce in Silesia, always are more flourishing in those years when the crop is indifferent, or even bad, than in plentiful seasons. The government constantly takes care to keep the price of corn on a moderate footing, either by filling its magazines when the crops are abundant, and opening them in times of dearth, or by opportunely prohibiting and permitting the importation or exportation of that article.

That the inhabitants of Prussia might derive some profit from the workmanship of natural productions imported from foreign countries, very trifling taxes were laid on some raw materials, but very heavy duties on all foreign wrought merchandize, similar to what can be manufactured in the country.

As this province does not derive all its wealth and resources from agriculture, but in a great measure from the fabrication of its natural productions, and those of its neighbours, and consequently from commerce, it



would have been impolitic wholly to prohibit the importation of foreign merchandize, even of such as was not absolutely necessary : for, in these cases, it usually happens, that the adjoining states make similar prohibitions on their frontiers ; a measure which ruins foreign commerce, encourages fraudulent traffic, and diminishes the demand for the manufactures of the country. It is from these prohibitions, so frequent in monarchical governments, that commerce is seldom so flourishing in them as in republics. In the latter, all ordinances of this nature tend only to the general welfare ; whereas, under monarchs, these prohibitions have frequently no other source than the enmities or jealousies of courts. Ordinary sovereigns often sacrifice the advantages of industry and of commerce to the low passions which animate them against their neighbours. No position is more certain than that the reciprocal prohibitions issued by Austria, Silesia, and Saxony, were less founded on the persuasion of any real advantage, than on ill humour, and a mutual desire of injuring. The ordinances of this nature published in 1756 were, perhaps, more detrimental to these provinces, than all the horrors of the seven years war.

The impost which the Silesians felt the most, was that on the Hungary wines, which were taxed at double their value. This obliged them, however, to accustom themselves to drink the wines of France, which greatly encreased the trade of Stettin, through which the Bordeaux wine passes into Silesia, by the river Oder.

It is probable, that, upon the whole, Silesia lost  
nothing

nothing by these prohibitions, and that the balance continued to be the same. When less merchandize is exported into foreign countries, less money is sent out of the country for foreign productions. But, on the other hand, by restraining the sale of a considerable branch of commerce, many thousand men are soon thrown out of employment, and want subsistence. Such as are not settled, quit the country; frauds and smuggling encrease in proportion to the duties; the receipt of the excise diminishes. If we add to *this* diminution, *that* which was occasioned in Silesia by the war, with respect to its population and consumption, it is evident, that, after the seven years war, this receipt must have been considerably lowered.

It seems that Frederick imagined he had discovered the cause of this diminution in the negligence and want of talents of the persons employed in the collection and administration: a prejudice imbibed with his education, made him think the Germans devoid of activity and talents. In 1766, he established a French administration. (8) It is said that Helvetius, who came to Potsdam after the seven years war, gave the king so favourable a description of the management of the finances in France, that he immediately resolved to send for financiers and clerks from that kingdom. If this be the fact, Frederick must surely have placed great confidence in the author *de l'Esprit*, to adopt his opinion, in opposition to the cries of all France, and the innumerable works, which sufficiently proved, that the administration of finances in that kingdom was as ruinous to the subject as to the sovereign. France

had not then a Necker, nor was Louis XVI. on the throne, to labour, with such admirable intentions, to reform abuses, and to relieve his people. It has been incontestably demonstrated, that, in dividing the taxes in France into five parts, only three fifths entered into the royal coffers, whilst the two others were devoured by sixty insatiable farmers general, and by legions of greedy subalterns. In Silesia, by Frederick's arrangement, the expences of the collection and administration of all the imposts and revenues of the state, barely amounted to 150,000 crowns, one third of the receipt; and this third provided a subsistence for a vast number of invalid soldiers, who were clerks, and who, independently of this, must have been provided for by the state. (9)

In 1766, a colony of French were seen to disperse themselves over the Prussian states, and fix in the towns, under the name of directors, sub-directors, inspectors, comptrollers, clerks, sealers of merchandize, &c. Brigades of foot and horse guards were formed to make war against the smugglers; and these men had excessive salaries: salaries unheard of, hitherto, in the Prussian states. (10) The new system multiplied without end formalities and ordinances; and as these new managers were strangers alike to the language and the ancient laws, it was natural to perceive a multitude of contradictions spring up, which in the end produced disorder and confusion. If the rate of excise was not every where augmented, a multitude of tickets, certificates, and acknowledgments of every kind, were introduced; and, for these, a payment became necessary.



fary. These permits, in fact, formed a new impost, which, instead of entering into the king's treasury, only augmented the income and insolence of these new comers. An infinite number of little laws were to be learnt, written in a foreign tongue, and which appeared endlessly complicated for no other purpose but to alarm and shake the confidence of the subjects, to make them fall every instant into involuntary errors, and to augment the receipt of fines; a fresh source of rapine for the French subalterns. A new system started up, introducing with it the tickets and other usages of the French administration. Equally novel was the art of escaping from the snares spread by these petty laws on every side under the footsteps of the citizens. But, the difficulties and formalities which accompanied this contribution rendered it doubly disagreeable. A man esteemed himself fortunate, if, on receiving a cask of foreign wine, he could, in the course of a whole day, seek out and discover all the different offices at which he must pay, and obtain in the evening, with a dozen of little tickets in his hand, a permission to put his wine into his cellar. (11)

The punishments annexed to frauds and smuggling were greatly disproportioned to the damage. The judges of these crimes were in a considerable degree dependent on the new administration, and partook of the fines. It is known that Frederick frequently annulled these barbarous or ridiculous sentences; but only in cases where either the judges were so deficient in penetration as not to perceive that their execution was impossible, or where the rapine had become glaring

glaring in the excess. (12) The greatest part of the offenders paid the penalties inflicted by these judicial robbers. The share of the fines of a judge of excise, called a *judge of attribution*, amounted to upwards of 1000 crowns annually, and that of a superior judge to above 5000, exclusive of their salaries.

The public are ignorant whether this management produced any considerable augmentation to the royal revenues; but, to judge from the complaints of the subjects, they seem to have thought themselves ten times more heavily laden than before. It was natural for the Germans, who always suspect the French of the design of enriching themselves at their expence, to be prejudiced against a system, the execution of which was entrusted to persons of that nation; and the conduct of several of these served only to confirm prejudices. They were considered as so many enemies come to pillage the citizens, and every thing was thought a fair prize that could be hidden from the watchful eyes of these detested Arguses.

From that period, the people could no longer be persuaded that the augmentation of duties on foreign goods, imported into the country, tended to make the national commerce and manufactures flourish. This doctrine was considered as a pretext of the new administration to augment the receipt, without troubling themselves about the consequences which might ultimately arise from it to trade. It seemed probable, that these French financiers could not expect to remain long in their situation; and like farmers who have rented land only for a few years, they laboured rather to turn every

every thing to profit, than to prepare either for their successors or their master a plentiful future crop. (13)

It is not astonishing, then, that the Prussians should consider it as no breach of their duty, as subjects, to smuggle, and use every means to defraud the revenue. Bands of smugglers became frequent, and marched often armed. (14) Still were they leagued clandestinely with the subalterns of the excise, and admitted amongst them as participators of their profits. (15) The French themselves were amazed at the stratagems invented every day to deceive their vigilance. Nor can it be disputed, that, under the French system, more foreign merchandize was introduced than ever, and that since 1766 commerce has from year to year been sensibly declining: yet the merchants and carriers complained less of the augmentation of the taxes, than of the difficulties with which these payments were attended, the time lost in making them, and the unremitted care which they were obliged to take, even on the most trivial occasions, to avoid the snares into which a thousand little ordinances were likely, in despite of every precaution, to decoy those who were the objects of their institution. A great number of Polish, Russian, and Hungarian merchants, disgusted with all these formalities, and the insolent rapacity of the collectors, preferred longer and more expensive roads to Austria, Bohemia, and Saxony; and the transit duty, which was considerable before the arrival of the French, was on the point of annihilation at the end of the reign of Frederick II.

Frederick had manifested, in all his other arrangements



ments of finance, that his only wish was to relieve his subjects as much as possible; yet he heard their continual complaints, and was no stranger to the detestation with which the French system was considered by his people. But when he had once taken his resolution, he remained irrevocably attached to it. He dreaded lest, by changing too easily, he should let *the man* appear; and he imagined that in the end, in spite of the evil that might result from it, the people would be always disposed to justify him, by giving him credit for being acquainted with some secret advantages arising from his system, beyond the public comprehension. Frederick received all the complaints of his subjects against this administration, but he generally referred them to the very same administration, only encreasing by this the insolence of the directors, and the hatred and despair of his people, who, though at length they bore their grievances in silence, took care to indemnify themselves by fraud. In fact, the French system has enjoyed near 20 years an absolute power in matters under its controul, and an authority independent of all the other tribunals and departments. It has made every attempt likewise to get possession of the tolls in the country, and to monopolize foreign wines, tobacco, coffee, brandy, &c. classing them under the description of *royalties*. (16)

The tolls of the country form, as it were, a part of the revenue arising from the crown lands, and enter into the treasury of the royal demesnes. The tolls in cities, and of some noblemen, for the protection and maintenance of the roads, bridges, causeways, &c. are

are but inconsiderable, and they are accordingly very badly kept. (17) Before 1766 the royal tolls in Silesia produced a revenue of 200,000 crowns.

The most considerable royalty in Silesia consists in the monopoly of salt. The commerce of that article, so generally necessary, is no longer free in this province. In the 14th century, the kings of Bohemia granted to the towns the commerce of salt as a branch of their prerogative. The greatest part of this salt is drawn from the royal salt mines of Halle and Schœnbeck, and is transported, at a small expence, into the different provinces, in barrels, by the Elbe and the Sprée. The expences amount to about one third of the sales, and the whole remainder is for the king. For the part of Silesia beyond the Oder, about 30,000 quintals of fossil salt is brought annually from the mines of Wiliska, in Poland, 20 leagues from the frontiers of Silesia. It is conveyed into the magazines of Upper Silesia by the Vistula, or on carriages, in cylinders of some hundred weight, called *Balwanen*. Each community is obliged to purchase a certain quantity of this salt. The peasants pound in mortars what they want for their own use, and expose the rest in lumps, in their stables and court yards, as a kind of aliment for the sheep and cows. The beauty and fineness of the Silesian wool are attributed to the peculiar qualities of this salt.

The royal treasury gains as much by the commerce of this mineral as by that of marine salt; but as these mines are situated in the country which has fallen to the house of Austria in the partition of Poland, it is to be

be feared that its price will be one day considerably augmented. The public œconomists of Silesia consider the revenue of these salt mines of such singular importance, that they cannot pardon the ignorance or negligence of the Prussian ministers, who did not take care, on the partition of Poland, to throw them into the king's portion.

The measures employed to prevent the inhabitants of the frontiers of Poland from purchasing their salt in this country, where they might have it much cheaper, appear oppressive. Each town, each community, is obliged to take, and pay for, at the royal magazines, a certain quantity of salt, which is then distributed to each inhabitant. Three measures of salt annually are allowed for every grown-up person. (18) The surplus must also be taken from the royal magazines. It is certain that this proportion is not sufficient; for it is proved that the inhabitants draw secretly a great quantity from Poland. The surplus of the sea and mineral salt produces about half a million of crowns yearly in Silesia.

The inhabitants do not complain of the dearth of the marine salt, because they are accustomed to it, but of the false measure of the barrels. And, here, as in all other places, the inconveniencies inseparable from the system of farming the revenue are obvious. The salt pits are farmed, and the farmer cheats for his own profit. To remedy these frauds in the measurement, an attempt was made to regulate the sale by weight, but the farmer still gained a fourth on every ton, by delivering the salt moist. The farmer of the royal  
salt



salt mines has greatly enriched himself, but, the acquisition of such affluence did not at all excite the notice of the king.

The revenues of the domains, forests, and iron forges, in Silesia, amount annually to 300,000 crowns. The domain lands are distributed into great bailiwicks, which are either administered or farmed. It would probably be more advantageous for population and the public revenues, if these estates were divided into small farms, and sold or let on leases: for, on a bailiwick, where a bailiff with a few people now reside, we should soon see whole families of cultivators spring up, who, besides the rent of their lands, would further contribute by the land tax, which the king himself is obliged to pay; and the encrease of population furnish soldiers in more abundance for the army, exclusive of a greater number of individuals for the purposes of agriculture. England for some time past has afforded a striking example of the fatal consequences of large farms. The state is visibly depopulating, and whole villages become deserted. (19) Yet, still, the system of large farms is not without its admirers, who pretend that the manufactures require so great a number of hands, that the class of cultivators cannot be augmented. But, this reason is at all events inapplicable to such a country as Silesia, where 100,000 cultivators might still subsist on their labour, without doing the smallest injury to manufactures.

This partition of the domains has been tried in some indifferent lands; but the settlers knew nothing of agriculture, and the sterility of the soil, added to their  
igno-

ignorance, rendering it impossible for them to pay their rents, the king from thence concluded that the system was absolutely useless. Yet, it is becoming an object of attention under the present reign.

The royal forests in Silesia are very considerable ; but the most extensive are in parts where there is neither agriculture nor population. A cord of firewood costs only half a florin in the forests of Upper Silesia, and these forests cover upwards of 200,000 acres. The revenue of the forests is therefore but very inconsiderable, in proportion to their extent. In several places they would produce nothing, were it not for the forges of every kind which are established in their vicinity.

The Jews in this province pay upwards of 10,000 crowns yearly for what is called *protection* ; and the duty on cards and stamped paper amounts to above 20,000 crowns. The stamp is paid in proportion to the importance of the affair, or sale, which makes the writing, memorial, or contract, requisite. There is a scale of from six times to one thousand times the value of the paper.

The other revenues consist in the produce of the posts, exchequer fines, certain duties on lands which hold immediately under certain cities or towns, and on some convents and commanderies. Such as enter into possession of a place or benefice, pay likewise to the treasury one quarter of their income. These revenues, formerly named *recruit duties*, were employed in levying new soldiers.

The whole revenues of the royal domains in Silesia  
amount to the sum of - 1,000,000 crowns

The land tax - - - 1,704,932

The industry tax in the country 150,000

The excise - - - 1,000,000

Thus the king draws from this

province - - - 3,854,932 crowns.

The plan or state of the expenditure is fixed in consequence of this receipt, the greatest part of which is certain in time of peace, and that which is subject to variation, such as the excise, the industry, tolls, &c. has augmented every year until the commencement of the seven years war. The revenue of the territorial impost and the excise is assigned for the pay of the army, and the maintenance of the fortresses, arsenals, and other military structures. From this fund, also, are paid the peasants, who are obliged to convey the civil and military officers who travel on public business. The salaries of the counsellors and other persons in the king's service, in the province, are paid out of the funds of the domains, as well as the other expences of civil government; and all this with the utmost exactness.

The appointments of the provincial civil officers are more considerable in Silesia than in many other countries, but their negligence and faults are punished with a proportional severity. As most of them are foreigners, the public do not like them; they are continually watched, and informers are never wanting, as the instruments of bringing to punishment those who are deficient in exactness or fidelity.



At the commencement of each civil year, which is on the 1st of June, the state of the receipt and expenditure of this fund was laid before the king. (20) In these statements, the sums already mentioned serve as the basis of the receipt; and in the expenditure, not only the determinate, but the extraordinary charges, are carried to account, such as buildings erected by order of the king, duties returned, expence of journeys, inquests, &c. These statements the king signed after examining them, and they became authentic documents for the respective chambers and treasuries. The latter could not pay a farthing beyond the ordinary and fixed expences, without a special order from the minister of the province and the chamber; nor could the minister, or the chamber themselves, give any orders of this nature to a considerable amount, without the express mandate of the king.

The leading principle of the Prussian administration of finances is, that the receipt must always exceed the expenditure. This surplus, *communibus annis*, amounts in Silesia to about half a million of crowns. The expences of the army, and for military edifices, usually amount to

That of the civil administration to 400,000

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Total 3,300,000

The annual receipt (as we have observed) amounts to 3,854,932 crowns.

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A surplus therefore remains of 554,932

Of

Of this furplus, one part was paid into the treasury, and Frederick II. usually employed the remainder in rebuilding towns, settling colonies, making improvements in the province, or in giving presents to different individuals.

Such is the general picture of the administration of the finances of Frederick II. in Silesia, and it is nearly on the same system that all his other provinces were administered. (21)

The land tax in the country, and the excise in the towns, are the only imposts in the province of Silesia; but the subjects are still liable to certain services which have for their object the defence of the country. These consist, 1st, in the obligation to military service; 2dly, in the quartering of soldiers; 3dly, in the carriages, works, and different supplies with which the peasants and inhabitants of the villages are obliged to furnish the king, his army, officers, and attendants, when required.

All these obligations already existed under Charles VI. but if we reflect on the difference of the governments of the two princes, we may easily imagine that military services must have been much more severely exacted by Frederick II. than under the preceding reign: for, in the time of Charles VI. all Silesia scarcely contained 4000 soldiers; under Frederick there were 40,000, one half of whom were natives of the province. From this it would appear that the burthen was increased ten-fold. But we should deceive ourselves in imagining that it is become oppressive in the same proportion, or that the Silesian soldier is refused either

time or liberty to cultivate his lands. On the contrary, it is known that the augmentation of the troops has contributed in Silesia to the increase of industry and circulation.

It is clear that by the army maintained in this province, and the exact and punctual payment of the soldiery, the chief part of the provincial revenues only entered the king's coffers to return into circulation, and procured the citizen and the cultivator a degree of certainty with respect to their means of subsistence, and the exchange of their produce against money. In many parts of this country the gentleman and the peasant formerly had no market to dispose of the overplus of their corn, hay, straw, cattle, and other productions. Thus situated, they became careless, and agriculture languished; the gentleman confined his attention to the sports of the field, and never thought of improving his estate. There were many towns without either baker, brewer, butcher, or shopkeeper.

At present there are 80 garrisoned towns in Silesia, all so distributed throughout the province, as to enable the villagers of every district easily to come to market, and exchange their different superfluities for money. A small town, with only a garrison of 600 hussars, receives annually 5 or 6000 crowns. The money paid the soldier returns into the hands of the inhabitant and the peasant, who furnish him with the necessaries of life. If we observe what ease and comfort the circulation of only 1000 crowns in specie procures to a number of industrious families, we may form some idea of the population, activity, and comfort, which



two millions of crowns must produce, distributed yearly, within the circle of a province. Not above ten years have elapsed since the little town of Silberberg could scarcely maintain four or five brewers, bakers, butchers, and shopkeepers. Now that the fortress is rebuilt, and a garrison kept there of 1600 men, whose pay amounts to 40,000 crowns, these professions furnish subsistence for more than 50 families; and this increase of comfort and population has proportionably augmented the number of other trades.

It is certain, however, that all these advantages would disappear, and an army of 40,000 men in such a province as Silesia be a devouring monster, but for the order and exactness with which it is paid, and the admirable discipline which invariably keeps the soldier in the execution of his duty. The Silesians, ruined formerly by the Imperial troops, were unable to form any idea of this discipline, and shuddered at the very name of a garrison. On reading the continual complaints made by this province, under the preceding reign, against the military exactions, we figure to ourselves an army pillaging a hostile country. The soldiers, not punctually paid, were driven by necessity to live as they could. The inhabitants received nothing for lodgings, provisions, transports, and other services. The money they paid for recruits was sent out of the province, to which it never returned.

Experience and comparison have proved to the Silesians, that an army, governed according to the military constitution of Prussia, is more generally favourable to circulation and industry, than the profusion of

a voluptuous court. Accordingly, at the present period, complaints are seldom heard in Silesia of garrisons, which occasion an annual circulation of upwards of two millions of crowns.

When we consider that the young men are obliged to enter into the military line, and that the soldiers, who work also on the fortifications, are furnished, at a certain price, with lodgings, carriages, horses, corn, and forage, we cannot suppose that this advantage has been purchased at too dear a price.

In the present constitution of monarchical states, which are obliged to maintain colossal armies, the first duty of the subject is, surely, military service. At all times, and under every form of government, it was the duty of every man to arm for the defence of the country. It is only in modern times, that the subjects of some states furnished money to enlist soldiers, in lieu of personal service. But, in Prussia, the military constitution is far beyond what was ever witnessed either in ancient or modern states. It would not be difficult to prove, that when Rome governed Asia, Africa, and the greatest part of Europe, she at no time had on foot more numerous armies than those maintained by Frederick in time of peace. In the province of Silesia, for instance, there are constantly six legions, equal to those of the Romans, and one half of them must be native soldiers. Never did the Romans maintain so considerable a garrison in any of their conquered kingdoms.

We have shewn the means employed by the administration to keep up this army at the expence of the province,

province, without considerably augmenting the taxes, beyond what they amounted to under the last reign of the house of Austria. But how can this province, with its present population, continually furnish 20,000 men able to bear arms? (22) Sparta and Switzerland, where every man was a soldier, cannot here be cited as examples. In Sparta, the *Ilotes* cultivated the lands, and the Swiss have but little land to cultivate. The wonderful administration of Frederick has resolved this problem, and at this day nothing appears more simple.

This arrangement is founded on what is called *cantonments*. Each regiment, except the hussars, has a canton, or district, assigned to it, comprehending a certain number of towns or villages, from which it has a right to take, for the military service, the young people of whom they stand in need. The regiment keeps a list of all the sons of citizens and peasants in the district, who are marked on the baptismal register. Every year one of the officers of the regiment is sent into the canton, to examine the young men, to measure them, and mark such as are fit for service. But this levy cannot be made arbitrarily, without giving notice to the chamber, which sends commissaries, with orders to see that every thing is conducted agreeably to the ordinances. The regulation established on this subject limits the power of the regiments, and determines the cases in which levies may be made. There are specific exemptions, which tend to the benefit of agriculture, manufactures, and population. This regulation exempts, in the first place, only sons, who are



destined to succeed their fathers in some situation, or those children with whose services a family cannot dispense, for the cultivation of their lands, or who are obliged to take care of a poor or infirm mother, or brothers and sisters in a state of infancy: 2dly, strangers newly settled in the country, and the children they have brought with them: 3dly, weavers (in Silesia): 4thly, artisans in certain professions, according to their utility and scarcity in each province. For instance, as the city of Breslaw, and the mountainous district, are the seat of the linen manufactories, these places are exempt from military service. It is true that the mountains of Silesia are appropriated to the king's guards; but soldiers are rarely drawn from thence for them, as the generals of other regiments make a point of offering their handsomest men to the king for his regiment of guards.

In the spring, the *cantonists* (the soldiers of the districts) are sent to their respective regiments to be exercised; and in three months they must be ready to appear at the king's reviews. As long as they remain with the regiment, they receive, like other soldiers, pay, lodging, and cloathing. After the reviews, they return home. As the captains profit by the pay of the soldiers in their absence, there is no fear of their retaining them a day longer than is necessary.

When not on duty, these soldiers return into the class of other villagers, and depend, like them, upon the lord of the estate. They may marry, purchase land, and contract other engagements.

In a great part of Silesia, especially towards Poland,

land, the military service assists in polishing the rude manners of the inhabitants: for, in these countries, we still find those barbarous and filthy *slavi* of whom Procopius has left us the description. (23) It is the same with respect to the inhabitants of Pomerania, Prussia, and Westphalia. The new soldiers acquire habits of order and cleanliness at their regiments, and many of them, who in their villages knew nothing but a barbarous and unintelligible jargon, at length acquire a proficiency in the language of their country. On their return to their villages, they become models of politeness and *bon ton*, and thus contribute, in some measure, to the progress of civilization. In many places, these soldiers, whom they call *Beurlaubten*, or *sent back*, are the only persons who can speak German, and maintain a civilized deportment.

In time of peace the soldiers are quartered only in the towns. Tho' no more than two thirds of the Silesian towns are garrisoned, the burthen is divided amongst them all, which is a great relief to those who are actually obliged to support it. This repartition is effected by a duty on each house in the towns, and on industry, which duty is called *service*. The service of a moderate citizen amounts to some crowns monthly; and this impost is so universal in the towns, that the civil officers of government are themselves obliged to contribute a small portion of their appointments. The service money causes an annual circulation of about 200,000 crowns in Silesia.

This money is paid into the service fund, from which a reimbursement is afterwards made to all inhabitants

habitants upon whom the common soldiers are actually quartered. Eight gros, or half a florin is paid monthly for a soldier, if he be a single man; for a married soldier 16, and for a horse 6 gros.

All the towns in the Silesian mountains are not garrisoned in time of peace, on account of the dearth of provisions, and from a dread of interrupting the commerce and manufactures of linen, which are very flourishing in those parts. In vain are troops well disciplined, when it will often happen that the officer and the soldier make the citizen feel the disdain with which they think they have a right to treat him. The merchant, on his side, who thinks, with reason, that, by making commerce flourish, he renders service to the state, cannot submit to military insolence; he beholds with pain the image of force and servitude perpetually thundering on every side of him: all these circumstances conspire to discourage and depress him, nor can he retain the same esteem for a profession which leads to no respect: his activity ceases, on seeing men who lead an idle life enjoy without any trouble such consideration, and pride themselves upon it to render his feelings the more humiliating: hence he considers as enemies even his fellow citizens, armed for his defence; and is soon tempted to carry with him into neighbouring countries, always ready to receive him, that industry, without which it would be no easy matter to maintain the soldier. It is natural, therefore, for the inhabitants of the towns in these districts readily to pay the service duty, without requiring garrisons; whilst others, which are destitute of  
trade



trade and manufactures, deem themselves fortunate to have quartered upon them troops who procure them the means of subsistence.

Frederick II. to relieve the inhabitants, built barracks at his own expence, in many towns, for the soldiers. Thus their lodging is not burthensome for certain places, and is highly advantageous for others.

It is the same with respect to the obligation they are under of travelling with their horses for the king's service, or of delivering corn, forage, &c. All persons who travel in the public service, and have passports from the king, his minister, or the chamber, are conveyed by the peasants from one village to another, with the number of horses mentioned in the passport. The traveller gives the peasant a receipt, which he carries to the office of the domains of his circle, and receives the fixed price of three gros a German, or six English miles, per horse. This pay, which, in truth, would appear very trifling in some countries, is, in others, equal to ordinary gain. Each peasant in Silesia maintains in general four horses, and these services are performed alternately by the inhabitants of each village, and no peasant can be compelled to absent himself above one day from his house.

All the ordinances which regulate these services breathe humanity and moderation. An extract from that for regulating the travelling horses, will suffice to shew the spirit that pervades the whole:—"The peasants who furnish horses shall not be forced to go further than their station, nor shall they be compelled to go more than a (German) mile and a half  
" in

“ in two hours. Travellers are forbidden to push on  
“ the horses, and load them with packets and baggage ;  
“ and they are especially warned against suffering their  
“ servants to drive or beat the horses. If the traveller  
“ arrives later by 12 hours than the time at which  
“ the horses were ordered for him, the peasant is not  
“ obliged to wait any longer for him ; and he can be  
“ conducted only at his own expence.”

Frederick himself gave the example of humanity and moderation towards the peasants. He carried his attention so far as himself to determine the number of horses they should be obliged to furnish for his own journies, and never did he require one more. His suite was never composed of more than three or four carriages, with his saddle horses. The plan of his journey was so disposed, that the peasants never waited above an hour or two, nor proceeded more than twelve English miles. When the horses died, they were always paid for out of the royal treasury.

When a considerable number of carriages were necessary for the service of the army, the construction of fortresses, or the conveying of corn to the magazines, the chamber commanded the provincial counsellors in each circle to give notice to the peasants. The distance, the time, and the quantity of the conveyances, are fixed, and the proprietors are paid a reasonable price. Even in the midst of war the peasants are not obliged to work for nothing ; and in 1763 the Silesians were exempted from every duty for some months, to indemnify them in some measure for the extraordinary services required of them during the war.

This

This sort of service is always under the inspection of the chambers, their commissaries, and provincial counsellors. It is never abandoned to the arbitrary disposal of the military, even when wanted for the purposes of the army.

The same conduct is observed when corn, forage, straw, wood, or other articles, are required of the landholders for the use of the army. The rates are fixed from the general survey of the province; the prices are reasonable, and in some places surpass those of the markets.

With respect to the fortresses, the inhabitants of the villages who have little places, the day labourers, and artisans, are obliged to keep the ramparts in order; and they are so well paid for this, that they could not gain more at home, besides that they have the liberty of sending others to supply their places, when they think proper. The chambers, which are entrusted with these works, have strict orders from the king to see that the workmen are regularly paid; but, in spite of these precautions, it, often, happens that rapacious engineers rob these people of part of what is due to them, and enrich themselves at their expence. Many of them have been punished.

Frederick II. built every year a certain number of houses at Berlin, Potzdam, and other towns, which opened a new channel, through which he restored part of his revenues to circulation. If the workmen employed in these buildings did not gain enough to put themselves at their ease, it was not the king's fault, but that of the undertakers, who deceived him with  
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the greater facility, as it was impossible for him to acquire a knowledge of all the minute details in this branch. (24) Frederick's main object was to employ all sorts of workmen and artisans in embellishing or repairing the towns of his dominions. For these works, and especially for those of the fortresses, it would have been easy to command soldiers, who would have worked much cheaper than ordinary labourers; but this must have injured other workmen, and Frederick uniformly rejected that counsel as often as it was proposed to him. Many soldiers, however, *did* live by these works; but they were considered as ordinary workmen, paid on the same footing, and enjoyed in that respect the same degree of liberty. (25)

All these arrangements which we have been describing, have for their object the maintenance of the greatest possible number of military forces. There is not, nor ever was there, a sovereign who knew better how to discover and employ the means of keeping on foot an army so immense, in proportion to his dominions, without sacrificing the happiness of his people. In all the ordinances of this philosophical sovereign, an uniform desire of affording the laborious class of his people the means of industry and profit is predominant. He laboured incessantly to secure to his subjects, subsistence, tranquillity, security, property, and liberty of religion; to inspire them with industry and emulation, to preserve commodities at a moderate price, to maintain the necessary circulation, and to protect the people against the tyranny and vexations of the civil and military administration.

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Let us continue to examine that which this prince created in Silesia, persuaded that it will present to us a model of the general administration of the Prussian states, and point out the means which have conducted him to the execution of his designs.

The instruments of the king's will in Silesia are,

1st, The chambers of war and domains established at Breslaw and Glogau. These are directed by the minister of state and finances of Silesia, under the title of president.

2dly, Three councils established at Breslaw, Glogau, and Brieg, destined to administer justice in the bailiwicks. The chief in this department bears the title of minister of state and justice in Silesia.

3dly, The army, always ready to enforce respect for the laws and ordinances of the sovereign.

The minister of finances in Silesia, and the chambers over which he presides, do not depend, like the other provinces which have no particular minister, on the directory general of finances at Berlin. They receive their orders immediately from the king. The objects entrusted to them are more extensive than those of the other departments of finances and domains. Besides the administration of the royal revenues, the care of the troops, for whom they are to provide quarters, the direction of the deliveries of corn, &c. the transports, and labours of the peasants, &c. they have the superintendence of all which concerns the rights and interests of the sovereign. They exercise the king's rights over the catholic churches, name or confirm the nomination of curates of that communion,

nion, and when the pope wants to publish a bull of indulgencies in the province, it must be previously examined by the chambers, and their consent obtained for its promulgation. They have the inspection of the police in the towns, and in the country the administration of the funds and revenues of municipal bodies, as well as of all trades, arts, manufactures, and commerce; in a word, of whatsoever relates to the improvement, the augmentation, labour, and sale, of the productions of the province.

It has, already, been remarked, that the country is divided into forty-eight circles, each of which is directed by a provincial counsellor, entrusted with all which concerns the territorial impost, and the execution of the ordinances of the chamber. It is the same with respect to towns, which are also divided into several departments, each of which is under the direction of a particular commissary, named by the chamber. Each commissary resides in the centre of his department. He is obliged to make frequent circuits through the towns under his inspection; to keep an attentive eye on every thing relative to the police, the œconomy of the chamber, manufactures, provisions, industry, and commerce; to make accurate reports to the chamber, and to receive and execute its orders for the remedy of abuses.

All these counsellors, as well as those of the chamber, are nominated by the king. The first point of their instruction is, zealously and attentively to watch over the interests of the sovereign; the second, to bestow the utmost attention on whatsoever concerns the  
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subsistence of the inhabitants of the town and country, especially of the numerous class of cultivators, artisans, and workmen. It is this class of men which more particularly stands in need of all the attention and protection of government. As for the gentleman, the merchant, the capitalist, &c. such men must have been absolutely destitute of conduct and of prudence, not to live at their ease, in such a country as Silesia, under a government like that of Frederick II.

The class of what are properly called *subjects* in the country, is composed, 1st, of peasants; 2dly, of gardeners; 3dly, of simple inhabitants. They are called peasants who possess land sufficient to maintain one or more ploughs, and who, in consequence of these possessions, are obliged to perform, with their horses, a definite or indefinite number of days works for the lord of whom they hold their lands. The gardeners are those who possess only a few acres of ground or a garden, and who, when they have not purchased the privilege of *free gardeners*, are constrained to perform some manual services in the fields, or at the castle of their lords, such as harvesting, haymaking, shooting, fishing, sheep-shearing, messages, or other labours of that kind. For these they receive a certain quantity of the produce they help to gather; such as the eleventh blade, when they work at harvest; the sixteenth bushel, when they thrash; two gros per day for other works; or a *kreutzer* for every league when they are sent on messages. These rates, which were fixed at a time when the bushel of wheat cost only 4 or 5 gros, and a labourer might subsist on two kreutzers a day,

no longer bear a just proportion to the price of other articles, and are infinitely below what a free man may gain. All these people, however, find the means of living on this slender pay, and the fruits of their gardens and fields. They are extremely useful to the gentlemen. As their gain depends on the produce and fertility of the earth, it is their interest to cultivate with care those fields of which they share the profits. They are called inhabitants who possess only a house, who live by some trade, or labour by the day, and pay a small tribute to the lord.

The situation of the *subjects* relatively to the lords bore no small resemblance to real servitude. The peasant possessed scarcely any right of property and inheritance, as is still the case in Poland. He was obliged, during the greatest part of the week, to labour for his lord with his horses, or his oxen, and had but little time left to cultivate his own lands: a single years scarcity was sufficient to overwhelm and ruin him. The lords, when they thought proper, deprived these wretches of their lands, and no other resource remained for them but to turn labourers and servants, or to retire with their cattle into Poland. Negligence, sloth, all the vices of slavery, were the natural fruit of this barbarous constitution. Industry can have no excitement whatsoever without property and enjoyment.

The sovereigns who governed Silesia before Frederick, endeavoured to set bounds to the privileges of the princes, and to reduce under their immediate subjection the states and subjects which were, as yet,

no more than mediately dependent on their power. But it appears that their object was to enfeeble the states, rather than to restore their subjects to the natural rights of property and freedom. Their first object was to draw a great revenue from the country, the repartition and collection of which was left with the province: so that, provided the tax on lands were paid, they gave themselves no concern whether they were well or ill cultivated. When Frederick made himself master of Silesia, many of the peasants lands were found in the hands of the lords, without a cultivator; he ordered them to be distributed into farms, and bestowed in full right on cultivators, with houses, cattle, and every thing necessary for agriculture. The lords, as we may imagine, did not approve of this ordinance. Many of them were obliged to resign a great part of their estates, that they might become settlements for peasants. All this, however, was literally carried into execution, and the chambers watched with great care over the proprietary rights of the new possessors.

An ordinance of the same nature limited each peasant to the possession of a single farm. They who possessed two or more, were obliged to part with them, by either selling them to others, or by giving them to their sons, if old enough to cultivate them. It is an excellent principle of administration, that every portion of land capable of nourishing a family, should have a particular cultivator. The inhabitants of towns were prohibited, likewise, from possessing farms in the



country, and those who already had any, were obliged to sell them to the peasants.

Other ordinances set bounds to the severity of the lords towards their peasants. The gentlemen, in imitation of the Poles, treated them extremely ill, and beat them unmercifully, whenever they thought proper. Frederick gave these unfortunate men the right of complaining to the government against the treatment and injustice of their superiors. He enjoined the tribunals to examine their complaints, to summon the gentlemen to answer them, to punish the cruelty and injustice of these petty tyrants, and to alleviate as much as possible the fate of the cultivator.

The same ordinance prohibits the lords from refusing their peasants the liberty of quitting their territory, to marry or settle elsewhere, on their paying a certain sum, which is fixed at a ducat a head.

There is no country where the laws are so favourable for the little against the great, as they were in the Prussian states during the reign of Frederick. It was difficult for unjust and prejudiced judges to reject the complaints of the people, in a country where all knew that the lowest subject could himself deliver them into the hands of the sovereign. Nor must it be imagined that all these complaints were thrown into the fire. (26) Whatever was their form and style, they were received and read, and, when some remarks in the form of instructions had been written upon the margin, they were immediately sent to the minister, or the department connected with the point in question.

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An order of the cabinet was frequently given, at the same time, for the report of the enquiry to be made to the king. All further regulations were needless to inspire the commissaries with care and prudence, and the judges with impartiality.

Only a few years were requisite to carry all these ordinances into execution in Silesia, whilst in other countries they were proposing prizes, to decide *Whether it be useful to secure to the peasant the property of his lands and of his labour?* Frederick did not wait for the decision of academies in matters which have so immediate an influence on the happiness of mankind, and which no circumstances, except barbarous habits, or the excessive love of paradoxes, can ever suffer to be called in question.

All these regulations have for their object the increase of population, and the improvement of the condition of the countrymen. Frederick exerted with no less vigilance his paternal care, in repairing their misfortunes occasioned by storms, hail, inundations, fires, disorders amongst the cattle, and other accidents. (27) In no country are there fewer beggars, or a government more attentive in preventing and removing the misery of the subjects. The moral obligation of solacing the unhappy is become, in Frederick's dominions, a duty commanded by the law. The whole country is divided into certain societies, each member of which receives succours in money, necessaries, labour, &c. whenever he meets with any misfortune or considerable loss. If we add to this assistance the taxes remitted him for some years, in

ready money, it is evident that he must soon be in a condition to repair his losses, and to resume his former situation. A provincial counsellor inquires concerning the nature of these losses, and estimates the damage. Next, he makes his report to the chamber, which decides on the nature of the indemnification, and takes care that he is paid. All this occasions no extraordinary expences. In the space of a few months, the buildings which have been burnt, must be repaired, and the cultivation of the land suffers no interruption.

Great care is taken, likewise, to prevent fires. In each village there is a pump, and every individual is obliged to keep in his house a certain number of leathern buckets and other implements calculated to extinguish fires. All matters of this sort are examined every year by the provincial counsellors, and an exact return made to the chambers. When there is any deficiency, the provincial counsellors are responsible.

It has been observed that we may judge of the degree of the civilization of a people, and of the value they annex to fixed habitations, by the precautions they take against fires. In a great part of Silesia, situated on the confines of Poland, the houses in the villages, and even in many towns, are formed of the trunks of trees placed horizontally on each other, and covered with straw or shingles. There are neither stone chimnies, nor any masonry. In this country it was found necessary to prohibit the inhabitants, under pain of corporal punishment, from carrying into the barns, stables, and other thatched buildings, light-  
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ed chips, or candles without a lantern; from drying flax and hemp in their houses; from lining their stoves with linen and other combustible matters; from smoaking near thatched roofs, in barns, or in the woods. All these prohibitions imply a very extraordinary negligence, insomuch that one would imagine that the people for whom they were made are but just emerging out of the pastoral and hunting state, and are only *beginning* to experience the advantages of agriculture, society, and permanent dwellings. The habitations of the gentlemen of this country are nearly all of the same architecture; and the barons live, as in many Polish villages, intermingled, as it were, with their horses, swine, sheep, and oxen. (28)

During the reign of Frederick, the ordinances of this sage monarch, and the indefatigable attention of the chambers, have at length obliged them to substitute stone chimnies for their wooden funnels; or, at least, the prohibition is so enforced as to prevent them from constructing new houses on the ancient plan. In all the villages stone ovens are now to be met with, and particular places set apart for drying their flax, hemp, and fruits.

From preceding observations the reader will naturally conclude that the villages of these countries are surrounded by forests. The whole country is covered with wood, and the villages, here and there, rear up their heads in the midst of it. These damp woods, and the negligence of the inhabitants, are fatal to the cattle. Oxen and cows are not fed in stables; but, as soon as the grass appears, they are sent

to graze in the woods and marshy coppices. Hence it frequently happens, that they are in want of food, and that the dews, the fogs, exhalations, mud, moisture and heat, engender all sorts of disorders. Every eighth or tenth year a general mortality rages among the cattle in these districts. These losses the government endeavour to repair by companies of insurance, which, added to the allowances made by the chambers, comfort the inhabitants amidst their calamities. But, in these very aids, possibly, we may discover one of the causes of the negligence of the peasants, and of the encrease of the evil. To obviate this, ordinances have been published concerning the manner of treating the cattle, and avoiding the contagion; and as often as a mortality takes place, the provincial counsellor, and the physician of the circle, open some of the animals, to examine whether the disorder arises from a real infection, or from the negligence of the peasants. In the latter case, every kind of indemnity and allowance is refused them. Physicians, established in every circle, are employed to watch over the health of the inhabitants, and the preservation of the cattle, and to make all exertions in their power faithfully to fulfil this double duty. They are paid by the king.

In general, the fields are the best cultivated, and the cattle in the finest condition, in the protestant cantons. Those of Glogau, Lignitz, Breslaw, Brieg, and Oels, where the chief part of the inhabitants are Lutherans, offer to the eye as well cultivated a country as in any part of Germany. The produce  
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of the land is there reckoned at six for one. The horses and horned cattle are robust, and not a corner of land is left uncultivated. But, in Upper Silesia, except Leobschütz, and the confines of Poland, the calculation does not exceed three for one; and the produce of a cow is three crowns a year. The cattle there are small, the horses feeble, and the fields are but very lightly tilled.

Notwithstanding that the principal cause of this difference, in some measure, results from the nature of the soil, yet, doubtless, we may trace the abuse of religion as not inactive in contributing to its production. The Silesian catholics celebrated a great number of feasts, which suspended the labour of the country for a considerable part of the year. Bishops and popes, who commanded these days of rest, never thought how many were necessary for the labourer to maintain his family. Attendances within a multitude of chapels, and pilgrimages, were continually drawing him from his domestic occupations; he abandoned his fields, and expended on the road the fruit of his past labours. It is no exaggerated estimate, surely, to suppose that 50,000 men, annually, sacrificed two days labour to these pilgrimages. The loss occasioned by the saints holidays was still more considerable. Ten annual feasts only suspended the labour of at least 500,000 men. Thus two pilgrimages and ten holidays extraordinary sufficed to retrench from agriculture 5,100,000 days works. Let us estimate each day's work at only two gros, (about threepence,) and we shall find that Frederick, by prohibiting these pilgrimages,



mages, and abolishing these superfluous holidays, procured the province an annual benefit of 637,500 florins, without reckoning the very considerable sum expended by these devout pilgrims in the foreign countries where they went to visit the chapels. Frederick's example has had an influence on the adjoining provinces, and these holidays are abolished by several catholic states.

Frederick, from the commencement of his reign in Silesia, laboured to give new life to agriculture by population, and that consumption which is the necessary consequence. The garrisons, the establishment of new manufactures in the towns, and foreign colonies in the country, were the means which he thought proper to employ. The garrisons have occasioned a fresh circulation of specie in upwards of 50 towns, and have procured new markets for the husbandman. Since the war of 30 years, the price of articles has risen one third in Silesia, as have the fertility of the lands and the population.

The most considerable colonies are settled in Upper Silesia, where they have formed villages and hamlets from the midst of forests. They are chiefly composed of Germans: the Poles are only admitted into countries entirely German. The object of this arrangement is to operate an alteration in the manners, the language, and agriculture, of the inhabitants, who are still the ancient Sarmatians.

Each colonist is put in possession of a house with a barn and stable, of land from 12 to 20 acres, to clear out, or meadow land, a garden of one acre, and the necessary

necessary cattle. The colonist, in the moment of his becoming the proprietor of this ground, is exempted from all services, whether military or of vassalage. He pays no taxes for some years, and the children whom he brings with him participate his privileges.

When Frederick had raised up, in the forests of his domains, as many new villages as prudence would permit, he excited the lords to imitate his example. Each of them who established a new colony of foreigners on his estate, on the same plan with the king, received a gratification of 150 crowns from the royal treasury; and this was sufficient in a country where lands and labour are at a very low rate. The king required that these colonists should be exonerated from all services, and have their lands secured to them as hereditary property. A newly settled village must contain, at least, six farms.

In order to augment also the number of handicraftsmen and labourers in the province, the king granted the lords 70 crowns for every new house with a garden, when they had themselves the building timber, and 100 when they had it not. After the years of exemption, these settlers only paid a slight quit-rent to the lord, and a trifling duty to the royal coffers. In other respects they were perfectly free.

By these means, a very few years after the seven years war, arose upwards of 250 new villages, and more than 2000 new settlements of farmers, manufacturers, and other workmen. Reckoning each village, one with another, only at 15 families, and each family

family at four persons, we shall find, including the new houses of the inhabitants, 17,000 colonists, of whom three fourths at least are foreigners.

Although, as we have already remarked, attempts have been made, in some of the royal domains, to divide the lands among the cultivators, the royal chambers have invariably considered it as a principle, that it is advantageous to the sovereign, to agriculture, and to population, that the gentlemen and other proprietors of land should divide it among a great number of farmers, either as hereditary property, or on leases. They always favour this sort of arrangements, and encourage the proprietors to adopt them.

A striking proof that agriculture has not attained its perfection in Silesia is, that two thirds only of the lands are sown yearly, and the remainder lies fallow. Every farmer divides his land into three parts; the one he calls his winter, the second his summer, and the third his fallow land. His winter land, thus called as it is sowed in autumn, is for wheat and rye. His summer land, which is sown in the spring, produces barley, oats, millet, flax, &c. The fallows are not sown, but remain two years out of tillage, and serve only to graze the cattle. But, it is evident that they can rarely find good eating on them, and this repose contributes little to the fertility. Almost all the lands in Silesia are good, yet, on deducting the repose of these fallows, they scarcely produce four for one. In England, the Low Countries, and on the banks of the Rhine, the crop is deemed very moderate when the  
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produce is not 12 for one. Can any point more clearly prove that these fallows are less advantageous than marl and dung?

It is easy to perceive that this custom derives its origin from the times in which the country was thinly peopled. If Silesia had so many cultivators as to allow only seven acres to each, as amongst the Romans, they would take care to leave no fallows, and these seven acres would certainly produce more than fifty in the present state. (29) In China, near London, and in the suburbs of Breslaw, where thirty acres of land cost as high as 10,000 crowns, and where there are no fallows, a single acre is sufficient to furnish subsistence for a whole family.

This distribution of the lands is one of the greatest obstacles to agriculture in Silesia; it divides the property of each cultivator into three long slips, and deprives him of the means of deriving the most profit from it. The most remote parts are generally badly cultivated, and rarely manured. The husbandman is ordered to work his fallow in June; but the ordinance is seldom executed, as this is the moment when forage is the most scarce, and the fallows are wanted for the cattle to graze on.

Another proof of the backwardness of agriculture in Silesia is in the quantity of commons, where neither corn nor hay are reaped in whole districts, and which serve only for pasturage to one or more villages. It is proved that these commons do not furnish the cattle with sufficient nutriment, and are, consequently, of little or no use. If these lands were shared amongst  
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the inhabitants of the respective communities, every one might enclose his portion with a hedge, make it produce corn or grass, and procure himself ten times more good forage to feed his beasts with in the stable, than they can find bad grass upon the commons.

The king and his chambers were not ignorant of these errors, so prejudicial to agriculture. It is certain, that by an agrarian law, such as the *lex Licinia*, (30) which should limit the lands of the peasants to half of what they actually possess, the cultivation would soon be brought to perfection, and the produce of the lands be considerably increased. But, there are many cases in which a free people may impose laws on themselves, which, if ordained by a monarch, would be considered as acts of despotism, and a violation of the property of the citizens. Frederick felt this truth, and contented himself with exciting, by examples and rewards, the husbandmen themselves to correct the abuses in agriculture, to cultivate new productions; in a word, to make every improvement of their lands. He sent several skilful men, at his own expence, into England, the Low Countries, and other parts, to study the best methods of improving agriculture, that they might instruct their fellow citizens, on their return. Foreign cultivators were placed on the royal domains, to furnish the example of a good agriculture, to cultivate unknown productions in the province, and to diffuse the knowledge of their utility. It is a duty imposed on the chapters and convents, to make essays and experiments of this nature in their vast possessions. (31) On confirming the election of a new abbé,

abbé, the king usually imposed on him, as a condition, a certain number of improvements relative to agriculture: such as the planting of vines, oaks, mulberry-trees, potatoes, the making some experiments on the culture of flax, and on wool; the sending for stallions from Prussia, farmers from Magdebourg, cows from Ost-Friesland, turf-cutters from Westphalia, silk manufacturers from France, and other articles of that nature. A monk, who was desirous of becoming an abbé, subscribed readily to all these conditions; but the execution did not always correspond with the promises. New productions, however, gradually find their way into the country, new methods and new arts are taught, and by gradual advances prejudices and ignorance disappear. Fertile vineyards are to be found in countries, where but twenty years before the eye saw no object except hills covered with barren sand. The wine, indeed, is not excellent; but, at least, some profit is drawn from land which could not be otherwise employed; and this wine, such as it is, cannot but be very useful in a country which produced none before. (32)

Marl and turf have been discovered in some parts of Silesia, and the inhabitants have learnt how to make use of them. The success of the mulberry-trees and silk worms has proved that these productions are not destined by nature to be confined to Persia and China; and potatoes are discovered to be as capable of cultivation in the north of Europe as in the south of America. Thirty years ago, ordinances and notices were of necessity published, to compel the inhabitants to  
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introduce this root. Such are the happy effects of experiments and example in rural œconomy.

As for the commons, common pastures, and the division of the lands into three portions, the king did not chuse to exert his authority to produce changes; but he proposed prizes for such as would conform to his patriotic intentions. To this effect, commissions were named, composed of magistrates, œconomists, and surveyors, who undertook to divide the commons, whenever the communities were so disposed. The ordinance for this establishment, recommending these divisions, is of the 14th of April, 1771.

If the transition from the pastoral state to that of agriculture be the second degree of civilization, it may be asserted that the partition of each estate, and the liberty accorded to each cultivator to work his land for his own profit, is the highest degree, and conducts to the perfection of agriculture. But a few years ago, the inhabitants of Silesia were so far removed from this state, that the ordinance for these divisions appeared a most extraordinary innovation, and produced a general astonishment. This ordinance does, in fact, resemble an agrarian law; but the style in which it is conceived sufficiently demonstrates that the government endeavours to operate the abolition of the commons, less by its injunctions, than by persuasive means. (33) As almost all the gentlemen have the right of pasturage on the lands of their peasants, and cattle form the best part of their revenues, we may easily conceive what difficulties they threw in the way of this division of the commons, and with what reluctance

reluctance they consented to see the peasant inclose his property. The example of England, and many other countries, where there are no commons\*, where each peasant feeds his sheep in his inclosure, and where the gentleman derives great benefit from his cattle, is not yet sufficiently felt in Silesia to be generally imitated.

Yet, what has been already done, has occasioned a dawn of light, and produced a considerable degree of attention to rural œconomy; and it is no trifling acquisition to have induced the husbandman to make experiments, and to have disposed him to abandon his usual habits, and to imitate good examples. The cares of government have awakened in some judicious and well directed minds, the love of a science which attracted the attention and bounties of the sovereign. A society of agriculture is formed in Silesia, who publish the result of their experiments and improvements. Their progress is daily increasing, and, if the present government does not fall from the predicament in which Frederick so successfully placed it at the outset, Silesia will shortly be not inferior, in this branch, to any country in Europe.

After the blessing of a good king, there is none greater for a state than to possess a good minister. Schlabendorf, Frederick's minister in Silesia, should share with his master the gratitude of that province. During the seven years war, he accustomed the Sile-

\* The English reader need not be told that this is an error.

fians punctually to obey the orders of the king. This rigour, injurious in many respects, established the points the most essential for the reforms intended to be introduced. It was he who confirmed the rights of inheritance in the property of the peasants, who placed cultivators on deserted lands, and prevented them from holding more than one farm. If the property of an estate be not secured to him who cultivates it, how can we expect from him either care or industry? Carmer, the minister of justice, did for the benefit of the lords what Schlabrendorf had effected for that of the peasants in Silesia. He formed a society of œconomists and naturalists, who occupy themselves wholly upon the progress of agriculture; and he established a bank of credit, which has been attended with the happiest consequences to the gentlemen of the province.

A great part of the gentlemen, possessors of lands in Silesia, had been ruined by the seven years war, by the alteration of the coin, and still more by an excessive luxury. They were poor and overwhelmed with debt. After the war, they were unable to turn their estates to account; and their rapacious creditors were disputing their spoils in the courts of justice. Carmer, as president of that department, felt the whole extent of the evil, and formed the project of meeting it with a remedy. It was necessary to check the avidity of the usurers, and he took the following method. He engaged all the states, or possessors of manerial lands, in the province, to unite, and form a society, all the members of which, reciprocally answering for the whole



whole body, should create and maintain a public credit. For this purpose, a chamber was established at Breslaw, called the *college of the states*, who formed a loan office. On this common guaranty, the society receives the capitals of those who wish to place their money on landed security, and thus is it enabled to supply the wants of individuals who seek to borrow on their estates. For the security of the society, the sum lent never exceeds one half of the value of the land mortgaged. Accordingly, the first step is to have the estate estimated by persons named by the society, after which tickets are issued for the sum borrowed, which are called in German *lederne briefe*, or *letters of leather*, because they are printed on parchment. One of these letters is an obligation, on which is printed the name of the mortgaged estate, and the attestation of the jurors who have valued it. These letters are divided into various sums, from 100 to 1000 crowns. They who deposit their money at the bank, receive a number of these letters for the sum they present, and they circulate every where as ready money. The bearer receives his interest, on producing them, every six months. At the commencement, the interest was at five per cent. but, shortly after, money became so plentiful at the bank, that it was reduced to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.

The possessor of a leathern letter has nothing to do with the proprietor of a mortgaged estate: all his transactions lie with the society; it is the general body who pay him the interest, and his capital when he demands it. The society collect, every six months,

from the borrowers, the interest of the money lent them. When this is not exactly paid, they have a right to sequester the estate, and assume the management of it, giving the proprietor only a moderate sum for his subsistence. If an estate is to be sold for debt, the society have the preference over all other creditors by virtue of its mortgages, and possess themselves of the sum lent, without entering into any process.

At the beginning, the society endeavoured to procure money in Holland, Genoa, and Switzerland, that they might realize their obligations, on the demand of the creditors; but these wary republicans made too many difficulties, and the bank soon perceived that they could dispense with foreign loans. Frederick lent them some tons of gold at two per cent. and the bank was charged to distribute the produce of those sums yearly amongst the poor widows and daughters of officers. At present, more money is offered to them than they want; and the capitalist has no safer means of investing his property.

The advantage of this establishment is evident. The gentlemen, who before were obliged to borrow from usurers at the rate of from six to ten per cent. now find money at the bank at  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , and are no longer subject to the tricks and barbarity of a knavish usurer. On the other hand, capitalists find in this institution the means of placing their funds without hazard; they receive their interest punctually, and are in no apprehension of a lawsuit. Another material advantage is produced by it, in teaching the gentlemen to set bounds to their expences, and pay more attention to the cultivation

tivation of their estates. It is almost impossible for them to borrow more than one half of the value of their lands; for, though they are not prohibited from obtaining more from individuals, it is clear that few monied men will trust them with their property under such circumstances, even at a higher interest. Thus, gentlemen find themselves, as it were, compelled to augment their incomes, by a proper attention to their estates, and to measure their expences by that income. At present, it is extremely difficult to discover in Silesia one of those parasites, formerly so common, who, after spending all their fortune, travelled from one house to another, to live at the expence of their neighbours. Several young gentlemen are as much attached to agriculture and the embellishment of their estates, as their ancestors were to the expenditure of their whole fortunes, in profusion of every kind, in travelling, entertainments, field sports, and other pursuits of the same nature.

The bank of credit so diminished the number of lawsuits, that many counsellors were obliged to quit the profession, and turn to other methods of subsistence. Never was the utility of an institution so speedily justified by its success. The *leathern letters*, at the commencement, afforded room for satire and pleasantry; (34) but the jesters themselves were soon happy in being able to recur to them. This establishment has been imitated in other provinces of the Prussian dominions.

Frederick was no less attentive, from the beginning



of his reign, to the augmentation of the number of towns in Silesia. There are at present as many in proportion as in Holland. Upwards of 50 towns are enclosed with walls; besides which, there are 50 open or market towns, the inhabitants of which live by trades, manufactures, or agriculture. All these towns are so distributed, as to render it easy for the inhabitants of the adjacent villages to bring their articles to market. The most considerable, such as Breslaw, Schweidnitz, Brieg, Lignitz, Glogau, Hirschberg, Glatz, Buntzlaw, and others, belong immediately to the king, and are distinguished from the rest by their population, industry, and not inconsiderable public revenues. In the others, the rights of the lords are so limited, and so deprived are they of every opportunity to harass their dependents, that only the execution of what is good appears to remain within their power.

The means employed by Frederick to attract fresh artisans to his towns, to augment population and industry, and to decorate them with regular buildings, were, money, protection, gratifications, and religious liberty. We shall lay before our readers some of the advantages offered to strangers who were inclined to settle in his towns, as they appeared in the public papers.

The privileges of a burghers, and the right of exercising professions, free of all expences.

The exemption from all taxes and public charges for the space of several ensuing years.

The

The exemption from being enrolled as soldiers, for them and the children brought with them into the country.

Advances from the royal treasury to purchase workshops and implements.

To such as were inclined to build houses, a spot of ground and part of the materials were offered gratis, and they were reimbursed one quarter of the expences of the workmanship. It was made a condition, however, that these houses should be built of masonry, and after a plan prescribed by the king, so as to leave less room for apprehending fires, and that they might contribute at the same time to the embellishment of the towns.

When Frederick conquered Silesia, scarcely any stone houses were in the towns: even the principal streets were formed of wooden houses covered with shingles. At present, whole streets are in general lined with stone houses; and there remain only a few ruinous buildings in the smaller streets still covered with shingles. Even in the towns on the Polish frontiers, where the houses are generally formed of the trunks of trees placed horizontally on each other, there are a considerable number built with stone. Almost all these houses have been constructed at the king's expence, who sold them at a low price to the foreigners who came to settle in the country.

The chambers are attentive to the property and revenues of the communities of the towns, some of which possess 10, 20, nay even as far as 50,000 crowns a year. This money is destined to pay the counsellors,

and other municipal officers, as well as for the support of public works and institutions. The general administration is in the hands of the town council, and the principal or most ancient inhabitants; but it is the royal chamber which collects the revenues, pays the expences, and draws up the accounts.

Though towns can hardly be considered in the light of orphans, because the council, acting, as it were, paternally, never ceases to exist, yet the Roman laws had in view the happiness of cities, in comparing them to infants. (35) Accordingly, as far as respects their privileges and common property, they depend on the supreme guardianship of the sovereign. These laws were occasioned, doubtless, by either the ignorance or infidelity of councils, who have but too frequently laboured to ruin towns, the welfare of which it was their duty to promote. This opinion is justified by the conduct of those towns, which, under the reign of Charles VI. had the entire administration of their revenues: a part of them was usually dissipated in feasts, amusements, entertainments, &c. These abuses excited perpetual complaints and disturbances amongst the people. In many of the small towns, the communities were obliged to levy contributions to pay the magistrates; and whenever there was a question of any extraordinary public expence, they involved themselves in debt, with a perfect indifference as to the mode of discharging it. Many towns mortgaged their estates, others abandoned them to their creditors, thus depriving themselves of all the means of improvement.

Under



Under the reign of Frederick, these abuses have disappeared. The estates of the towns, and their revenues, are administered under the inspection of the royal chambers, with as much order and exactness as the royal domains and treasury. At the beginning of the year, each town is obliged to lay before the chamber a state of its receipt and expenditure. The chambers submit these accounts to the examination of commissaries and men of skill, who make their report, and decide on the utility of the schemes proposed, and the chambers approve, or introduce alterations, in consequence of this report.

No magistrate is allowed to expend ten crowns beyond the fixed statement, without the consent of the chamber. The towns can make no bargain, enter into no contract or lease, or perform any act of that nature, without the previous consent of the chamber, and this even before the council or the elders. The consent is never given until the utility of the measure be clearly proved. In general, the commissaries of the chamber are expected to reside in the towns of their departments, to maintain order and regularity. Thus, the estates and revenues of the towns can only be applied to purposes of public utility, and in conformity with the views of the sovereign.

Frederick carried still farther his care to augment their welfare. The communities of towns in arrear from accidents, or overloaded with debt, receive from the royal treasury the sums they stand in need of, to extricate themselves, or to put their affairs in order. These advances are, generally, made without interest,  
and

and the reimbursement is effected so gradually as to enable them to accomplish it out of their savings, without suspending the necessary expences.

These wise arrangements have remedied so efficaciously all past evils and abuses, that few towns are now either in debt, or suffering under any traces of the miseries of war; but, on the contrary, their property is in a better state than ever. When the king made himself master of Silesia, there were large and void spaces in many of the towns, occasioned by conflagration, on which the houses never had been rebuilt, and the inhabitants were loaded with considerable debts, the fatal remains of the war of 30 years.

In a country where the houses in the towns, as well as the country, are of wood, their roofs of shingles, and their chimnies formed of planks, fire must be a very formidable enemy to the inhabitants. It will not, therefore, appear incredible, that, in the first twenty years of Frederick's reign, and, especially, during the seven years war, more than a sixth part of the towns in Silesia should have been either partially or entirely burnt.

Government has created institutions to prevent these accidents, or at least to alleviate the misfortune, by obliging all the other towns to contribute towards enabling the sufferers to rebuild their houses. For this purpose, wooden houses and chimnies are prohibited, as well as shingle roofs; and this prohibition has been strictly carried into-execution. In every town, a particular counsellor, who is entitled the *burgomaster of fire*, is charged with the care of every thing

thing relative to the precautions, or to the assistance, ordered in cases of fire. To excite and preserve an assiduity in the execution of these ordinances, rewards and punishments are established. The attention of the chambers extends even to the sweeping of the chimnies. Each circle, each town, must have a certain number of chimney sweepers, who engage by contract to clean all the chimnies, at certain stated times, and for a stipulated price. The police, and, above all, the burgomaster of fire, are obliged frequently to examine whether the chimnies are properly swept, and the implements, of which there must be a sufficient number, for extinguishing fires, preserved in good order.

All these precautions, however, cannot prevent accidents. A common fund of indemnification, therefore, is established under the direction of the chambers, for the assistance of those who experience the misfortune of suffering by fire. This fund reimburses the sufferer the price of his house, acceding to his own estimate of it in the general valuation. This general valuation is a book which contains a list of all the houses in the town, with the value affixed to them by the proprietors themselves. When a house is burnt, the sum at which it is rated is drawn from all the members of the society, in proportion to the price at which each house is estimated, which is sent to the sufferer.\* All this

\* There is a similar voluntary institution at Philadelphia, which is followed by the happiest effects. Each inhabitant has buckets in his house, and all necessary implements, and, besides his own humanity,



this takes place under the inspection of the chamber, which has the accounts examined, and carefully observes that the money, thus bestowed, shall be applied to no other purpose but the rebuilding of their houses. Yet, as the sums allowed by the society did not suffice for the construction of stone houses, the king rebuilt, at his own expence, almost all the houses burnt in the towns during his reign.

Frederick has introduced as useful changes with respect to religion, as in other branches of administration. On becoming master of Silesia, he reformed abuses, without attacking liberty.

The conquest of Silesia caused a revolution in that province relatively to religion ; but it was neither such as the protestants had hoped for, or the catholics apprehended. Under a monarchical government, nothing is more natural than an established religion, and it is as natural to imagine that this established form of worship either should, or will be, that of the sovereign. This idea had inspired the catholics with dread, and the protestants with hopes. The latter had no doubt that a prince of their religion would give his mode of faith the predominance in a conquered province, and that he would persecute without pity the catholics, whom they hated. They were unable to form an idea of a king who could consider as preju-

humanity, has the powerful motive of interest to animate his exertions. It is impossible to form a more admirable, or a more simple institution : why is it not more generally adopted ?

TRANSLATOR.

dices

dices every thing not immediately connected with the essentials of religion; and who could be of opinion, that all ceremonies, every form of worship, not contrary to the principles of government, might be admitted and tolerated without danger.

Frederick removed the obstacles which impeded or straitened the protestants in the exercise of their religion, and left the catholics in full possession of their mode of worship. The former were allowed new churches and new ministers; the latter retained their priests, who were only disarmed of the power of turning against their brethren the efforts of a mistaken zeal. Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Schwencfeldians, (36) Hussites, Hernhutters (or Moravians), Greeks, Jews; in a word, all creeds, all sects, all religions, were obliged to tolerate each other, and live in peace, under the sceptre of Frederick. This prince declared his peremptory will in that respect, at the very outset of the establishment of his power in Silesia. A number of ecclesiastical candidates followed his troops, and protestant churches were seen to spring up, as his arms penetrated the province. (37)

The conquest of Silesia was not yet completed, when he published an edict, to recal the Schwencfeldians, who had been banished from the province. (38) The Moravian brethren, the disciples of count Zinzendorf, received, in 1743, the permission to settle in Silesia, to form separate communities, and to continue in matters of religion independent of all bishops, their own excepted.

At the commencement, the zeal of the protestants  
in

in building new churches was so ardent, that Frederick thought proper to set bounds to it, lest the parishes should prove unable to pay the expence of the buildings, and maintain the priests. The king had engaged to leave the catholics in the situation in which he had found them; so that, in the places where Lutheran churches were built, and new priests established, the Lutheran inhabitants were still obliged to pay, as heretofore, tythes and other parochial contributions to the catholic curates, in addition to the support of their own churches, priests, and Lutheran schools. It may be imagined, therefore, that these contributions must become burthensome in the end.

In consequence of this universal enjoyment of former situations, the catholics kept all the churches and ecclesiastical property which they possessed at the conquest of Silesia: they possessed more than 2000 at that period, and the protestants had only 400 ancient livings. In order to establish some equality in the burthens, the catholic inhabitants of the protestant parishes were ordered to pay the same duties to the protestant ministers, as the protestants paid to the catholic curates in their parishes. (39)

If we add to the 400 ancient churches possessed by the protestants in Silesia, those which were built under the government of Frederick, we shall find them amount, at this day, to more than 600.

It was long since the sovereigns of Silesia had shewn so much respect to the bishop of that province, as Frederick manifested to cardinal Zinzendorf, who had been invested with that dignity in 1732.

It



It is true, that he issued orders for conveying him away from his palace of Ottmachan, because he suspected that he maintained a correspondence with the Austrians. But, as soon as he had justified himself, the king permitted him to return to Vienna, for his safety. After the peace, he repaired to his bishopric, and enjoyed all his ancient privileges. Frederick gave him the order of the black eagle; and conferred upon him an honour the more flattering from its rarity, by attending at a sermon which he requested him to preach.

Federick laboured to withdraw Silesia from a dependence on the court of Rome. It appeared to him ridiculous for a bishop on the banks of the Tiber to exercise a jurisdiction, and levy contributions, in a country governed by a Huguenot king on the coast of the Baltic. From the beginning of his reign, he ordered the jurisdiction and administration of all spiritual affairs to rest only with the bishop; and forbade all appeals to Rome or to the nuncio. Should any one think himself aggrieved by the sentence of the bishop, he may appeal to the provincial synod, who judge in the second and third instances. The appeals are not allowed to go any farther. Under the reign of Charles VI. the pope had already been deprived of his first fruits, and the nomination of a bishop. Nor was Silesia subject to the *apostolic months*;\* at least, there is no concordate which obliges that

\* The apostolic months (*mensēs papales*) are six months of the year in which the pope has the right of conferring the vacant benefices.

that province to submit to them, like the rest of Germany, in which country it is not comprized.

Frederick proclaimed himself the head of the churches in his states, and named the bishop his vicar general. He declared, likewise, that he should in future nominate to all ecclesiastical places and dignities, and the confirmation is reserved to the pope only for the sake of form. Under the preceding reigns, the election of the bishop rested with the court. They strove to make the choice fall on a prince, and recommendations, cabals, and money, were employed to obtain what Frederick effected by a single word.

In 1744, he named count Schafgotsch coadjutor of cardinal Zinzendorf, and, on the death of the latter in 1747, the former was advanced to the bishopric by the king. The chapter made representations, and the coadjutor refused with humility the dignity destined for him in consequence of his situation, in order to give the king an opportunity of confirming him in it by an act of authority. The count de Munchow, minister of state in Silesia, signified to him this confirmation, demanded the keys of the episcopal palace of the chapter, and installed the new bishop in the king's name. In 1748, Benedict XIV. sent cardinal Archinto to Breslaw; the chapter were silent, and Schafgotsch was confirmed by the pope. This is the same Schafgotsch, who, by the blackest ingratitude, afterwards proved that he so little merited the favours heaped on him by Frederick.

fices. These rights were established in Germany, by concordates between the emperor Frederick III. and Pope Nicholas V. in 1448.

The

The bad conduct of this bishop obliged Frederick to commit the estates of the bishopric to the administration of the chamber of domains. These estates produce about 50,000 crowns. With this revenue the debts of the see are paid, the buildings and other property are kept in order, and the lands improved. The episcopal palace having been burnt a few years since, Frederick was of opinion that the word *palace* was ill suited to the habitation of a servant of Jesus Christ, and ordered the chamber to erect a simple and commodious building, in which a genuine successor of the apostles might dwell without putting his modesty to the blush.

We perceive, by the use which Frederick made of the estates of the bishopric, that he did not attribute them to himself as a *jus regale*, as several of his predecessors in that province had done, with respect to the episcopal see and abbies, during the vacancy of these benefices. (40)

From the beginning of his reign, he declared that he advanced not any pretensions either to the revenues of the vacant benefices or to the succession of the prelates. On the death of cardinal Zinzendorf, he renewed his declarations in this respect. Nor did he send officers or invalid soldiers to the abbies, to be maintained at the expence of the monks, as had been practised heretofore. (41) He converted these *droits d'oblats*, \* or lay prebends, into annual pensions,

\* The *droits d'oblats* are the claims which a soldier worn out in the royal service may make to the enjoyment and benefit of a monk's place in an abbey.



which the rich abbies are obliged to pay. These pensions are paid into the treasury of the domains, and Frederick disposed of them in favour of meritorious officers whom he wished to recompense.

By the canon law, these lay prebends should amount to one fourth of the whole revenue of the abbies. (42) But the richest abbies in Silesia, some of which possess 40,000 crowns a year, do not pay above 2000; so that, deducting the contributions of 50 per cent. which they are obliged to pay, still are they very far from contributing more than the fourth of what remains.

It is rather singular, that, in former times, the abbies were compelled to furnish and maintain the whole train of artillery. Under preceding reigns, Silesia has often seen her sovereigns take possession of the abbies and church benefices, and convert them to other uses: (43) under that of Frederick, the priests and monks were free from any such apprehension. The king rigidly observed the *statu quo* (44) promised in the treaties of peace, though that promise only respected liberty of conscience and religion. All know with what repugnance Frederick destroyed the Jesuits in his dominions. This revolution took place very late in Silesia; nor did Frederick consent to it, but after the strongest representations made repeatedly by the court of Rome and other catholic sovereigns. As it is, he has provided abundantly for the Ex-Jesuits; their estates are better administered than ever, and the revenues applied to the catholic schools and universities. No where are the Ex-Jesuits more at their ease;

ease; nor is there any catholic state where they enjoy a greater portion of freedom, tranquillity, and content.

All the affairs respecting the abbies and ecclesiastics are laid before the minister of finances and the chambers. The duty of 50 per cent. must appear very light to the abbies, compared with the free gifts and the exactions to which they were before exposed. (45)

Frederick permitted the chapters to elect their abbés and abbeesses, provided that the ceremony took place in the presence of a royal commissary. The election undergoes three scrutinies. The names of the three persons chosen were sent to the king, who, sometimes made them put the three names into a hat, and ordered one of his generals to draw out the ticket which was to ascertain the lucky mortal on whom fortune chose to bestow the crosier. Preceding sovereigns were not so easily to be satisfied. They frequently named the person on whom they wished the choice to fall, and did not always leave the chapters the liberty of deposing their abbés. (46)

In Silesia there are 1 chapter, 6 collegiate churches, upwards of 70 convents for men, and 18 for women. These houses maintain about 2000 persons. Eleven colleges belonging to the Jesuits have been suppressed, and their revenues, administered by a special commission, are assigned for the maintenance of the university of Breslaw and some other schools.

The abbies and chapters in Silesia possess a considerable part of the property of the province. There are abbies of Bernardine monks, which possess more than one hundred farms. Their buildings are the

most extensive and most beautiful of the whole province. The Bernardines of Leubus have a hall so spacious, and so richly ornamented, as to be rivalled by few sovereigns of Europe. The abbé de Grifau, of the same order, has just built for his own residence, a house which cost above 100,000 crowns. All this was tolerated under the government of a prince whom the catholics called Huguenot; under what catholic prince would the monks have enjoyed a more advantageous situation? Such are the happy effects of philosophy and toleration!

The education of the people did not appear an object of indifference to the philosophic mind of Frederick. He did not think, like certain false politicians, that every degree of knowledge and civilization amongst the people is dangerous for government. He did not conceive, that, by knowing how to read, write, and calculate, the peasants would cease to submit to their services, to pay taxes, or to be willing for their children to become soldiers. He established schools in every village, and fixed a salary for the schoolmasters, to which the gentlemen and communities contribute; and he enjoined the ecclesiastics to pay particular attention to these schools.

The difficulty was to find a sufficient number of schoolmasters, capable of teaching, and establishing a simple and general method of instruction. A man of talents was sought for to form this plan, and such a person was found in Felbiger, an Augustine monk, and abbé of Sagan. This prelate, to whom great part of Germany will one day owe a revolution in the minds  
of



of the people, (47) was sent to Berlin, where he remained some time to observe, in the little schools, the best method of instructing children. On his return, he converted his convent into a seminary for young ecclesiastics, and persons intended to become teachers of schools. Here they were properly formed, and then sent to establish seminaries of the same kind at Breslaw, Glatz, Rauden, &c. The funds necessary for the maintenance of these institutions, are drawn from certain contributions which the catholic curates are obliged to pay on entering on their livings; and these amount to the fourth of one year's revenue.

The seminaries are connected with the smaller schools, to give the young pupils the opportunity of exercising themselves in the method taught them. No schoolmaster is received, unless he has been brought up in one of these seminaries; nor can any ecclesiastic, who has not been taught the new method pursued in them, be promoted to a benefice, as he is deemed incapable of fulfilling an essential part of his duty, by watching over the education of the youth according to the plan of the sovereign. Accordingly, the first point required for the admission of a candidate, is an attestation from one of these seminaries.

When all these establishments had acquired a certain degree of consistence, Frederick published a regulation (in 1785), wherein he enters into the minutest detail respecting the manner of teaching children. (48) The superficial man will smile, perhaps, on seeing a king, and his council of finances, engaged on the discovery of the most effectual method of teaching chil-

dren their A, B, C ; but the man of sensibility, the genuine philosopher, will shed a tear of tenderness over the cares of this hero, who, after making all Europe tremble, descends into every pursuit connected with the duty of a good father of a family, nor ever ceases actively to consult the happiness of his children. It must be reserved for the succeeding generation fully to experience the beneficial effects of this reform. All new arrangements are condemned by a great part of the contemporaries of those by whom they may have been introduced. The ancient curates and schoolmasters inveighed bitterly against these alterations, which they represented as dangerous to religion. The government suffered them to exclaim, and continued the reformation.

The question here is only respecting the little schools for writing and reading; at Breslaw, and in almost all the other towns, there are Latin schools, attached to the convents or churches. The reforms which Frederick made in them, extended to teaching the children to speak some Latin, and more of German; neither, amidst these pursuits, were they suffered to neglect writing and arithmetic. He introduced some able professors of natural philosophy and mathematics into the catholic university of Breslaw, from which he attempted to banish the scholastic philosophy and theology.

The conduct and toleration of Frederick, the paternal cares he extended equally to catholics and protestants, have insensibly destroyed religious hatred to such a degree, that in many villages the catholics send their

their children to the protestant schools, there to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. In these cases, it is recommended to the master not to talk of religion to the children, which branch of their education is left to the catholic curates.

The effects of toleration and knowledge on the minds of the people are already apparent. The members of the different communions insensibly come together. Amongst persons of some education the difference of religion is hardly perceptible. Prudence and modesty have banished all religious disputes from society; and the fear of being particularly remarked, draws off numbers from an attention to several external rites and ceremonies, which render the difference of churches more striking. A stranger may remain some time at Breslaw, without perceiving that the city is composed of catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

Though the catholics are no way straitened in the exercise of their religion, yet in places where the two religions are intermingled, the taste for processions, fraternities, and other points of that nature, is visibly and daily decreasing.

No person either listens to or reads controversial discourses or writings. The words *heretic* and *heresy* appear banished from society; and though, under the reign of Frederick, the Lutheran was become, in some measure, the prevailing religion in Silesia, its professors were never seen endeavouring to revenge themselves on the catholics, for the miseries and oppressions they had suffered from them under preceding reigns. Should



some haughty or indiscreet protestant clergyman venture to preach controversy, the consistories immediately repress his zeal; and the chambers and vicar royal would not fail to impose the same silence on any catholic priest who should be tempted to revive similar disputes. At the commencement of Frederick's reign, a catholic priest was tolerated at Breslaw, who preached controversy alone, and never ceased, in his sermons, exclaiming against the protestant church. This man, however, was either too wise, or too great a simpleton, to submit to his auditors any opinion which was not calculated to make protestants as well as papists laugh. (49) His pleasantries were flat; all were soon tired of them: the catholics blushed at having such a defender: he was left to preach to himself, and finally obliged to hold his tongue.

Marriages between persons of different communions are not unfrequent, and the government favours them, particularly among the common people, in order to bring the different sects nearer to each other. In these cases it is usually stipulated, that the boys shall be educated in the religion of the father, and the girls in that of the mother. Others leave their children free until the age of 15 or 16, to chuse what religion they think proper, and teach them nothing before that period but the principles of natural religion, which serve as the basis of every mode of faith.

The difference of churches, however, is to be remarked in the appointment to places and public employments. Possibly Frederick would have ordered these to be holden indifferently by catholics or Lutherans,

rans, had not the conduct of the bishop, and some of the catholic vassals, inspired that prince with some distrust. He remarked that the attachment of his new subjects to the ancient government was founded wholly on religion; and the precautions he took in this respect were necessary, especially at a time when superstition still subsisted in its full force in Silesia.

Such was Frederick's administration in Silesia, and such the useful changes which he effected. By his care, agriculture has been restored in the province, commerce encouraged, population augmented, the people relieved, superstition destroyed, industry and activity excited, and knowledge universally diffused. Nor less beneficially did the cares of Frederick pervade the different provinces of his dominions, according to the circumstances and situation in which he found them. We shall now proceed to trace out some of these operations.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF FREDERICK IN THE  
OTHER PROVINCES OF HIS DOMINIONS.

**W**HILST he was thus making a new country of Silesia, his paternal views extended to every other part of his dominions, where he occupied himself in reforming or perfecting all the branches of administration. The greatest misfortune that can befall any people, is to be subject to barbarous and uncertain laws, which, inconsistent and contradictory, perpetually expose the lives and fortunes of the citizens. Frederick's father had felt the defect of the jurisprudence followed in his states, and conceived an intention of reforming it. Frederick laboured during the whole course of his life to carry into execution this great work, yet it remains imperfect. Frederick's designs were excellent; he had no other object than the happiness of his people, but it is evidently much easier to be a conqueror than a legislator; for, in the multitude of great men whom history presents us, how often do we find Cæsars and Alexanders, instead of a Lycurgus and a Solon?

A mixture of the Roman and canon, confounded with a pretended German and Saxon law, had long formed the jurisprudence of the Prussian states. Uncertainty reigned in every decision, and confusion in  
all



all the tribunals. Attempts were made to remedy abuses by a multitude of special edicts, which only served to augment perplexity and contradiction.

In 1746 Frederick himself drew up a plan for the reformation of justice. He wished to have all processes terminated in one year, by three judgments, and the expences diminished. The execution of this project was entrusted to Coccéi, then grand chancellor, who was ordered, by the king, to draw up a new code. Coccéi possessed all the talents requisite for fulfilling the king's intentions; but, where is the man, however transcendent his abilities, capable of overthrowing, in the course of a few years, the jurisprudence of a whole nation, and of establishing on its ruins new forms and new laws, which may be submitted to without abuses, and without contradictions?

Coccéi purged the tribunals of a band of unworthy members, and of an infinity of intolerable abuses. He introduced order and regularity in the proceedings. He abolished the ancient, and established new tribunals, to which he communicated the active spirit, the pure and ardent zeal which animated him in all his operations. Out of the fees he created a fund, from which the salaries of the officers of justice were paid, thus shutting the doors of the tribunals against interest and avidity. But, by abridging formalities, which often constitute the *palladium* of the liberty of the citizen, did he not afford too much opportunity for precipitation? Are not the countries in which the administration of law is subject to fewer forms, precisely

cisely those wherein despotism reigns with an unbounded sway, and from whence liberty has disappeared?

A new judicial order was established in all the Prussian provinces, to which, in the course of a few years, every point was submitted. In 1752, the success of this reform was deemed complete, because, out of 9366 processes, all, except three, had been determined within a year. On this plan of reasoning, no system is more admirable than the jurisprudence of the Turkish governors, who will dispatch twenty in a quarter of an hour.

Frederick soon felt that he was still remote from his object, and that all the activity of the *Frederician code* would prove insufficient to destroy the hydra of chicanery. Coccéi, honourably to perpetuate the memory of whose services, he gave orders that a medal should be struck (50) in 1748, was neglected towards the end of his life; nor was Jarriges, who succeeded him, more fortunate. The seven years war threw all these projects of reformation out of sight, and abuses continued. In 1776, a new scheme was presented to the king. Fürst, at that period grand chancellor, laboured with ardour to accomplish Frederick's intentions; when, at the end of three years, an affair, which attracted a very general attention, occasioned the fall of the chancellor, and, in its consequences, proved how much the king had grown dissatisfied with all his tribunals.

The mill of a man, named Arnold, is situated on a small river, near the village of Pommerzig. Above his

his mill, this river passes through the estate of Kay, belonging to Mr. Gersdorf, a provincial counsellor. Some years before, the latter had made a fishpond on his estate, into which he conducted the water of the river, but not so as to prevent it from returning to the river by another outlet. Arnold pretended that this pond robbed him of the water necessary for his mill, and hindered him from grinding during a great part of the year. Under this pretext, he refuses to pay count Schmettau, of whom he farmed the mill, the quantity of corn stipulated in the contract. Schmettau attacks him judicially, and the miller is condemned. Arnold, in contempt of the sentence, still persists in refusing payment. An execution is issued, the mill is sold to the highest bidder, and falls to counsellor Gersdorf. Arnold, deprived of his mill, accuses the judges of violence and injustice, and complains to the king. The regency of the New Marche are ordered to examine the affair, and one of the counsellors, with a skilful attendant, is sent to make inquiries on the spot. The commissioners find that the pond is no way injurious to Arnold's mill; and another miller, whose mill stood higher up than Arnold's, and between the latter and the pond, deposes on oath, that this pond has done no injury to his mill, but that he continues to grind as heretofore; from whence the commissioners conclude that Arnold had no reason to complain. Arnold appeals from their decision to the chamber of justice at Berlin, who confirm the first sentence. The miller again complains to the king. Frederick, who had been made to take  
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the affair in a false point of view, and was mortified to see that all the pains and labour which it had cost to reform the administration of justice, produced no effect, dismissed the chancellor and the president of Custrin, sent the counsellors of the chamber of Berlin to prison, and the counsellors of regency to Spandau. All the public papers of Europe extolled, at the time, this conduct of the king; yet he was in the wrong, as he himself acknowledged some years previous to his death. (51) But, even in this transaction, Frederick has left a precious monument of the purity of his intentions, and of his philosophic spirit. On reading the following piece, we cannot but regret that he was either unable to find persons worthy of executing his projects, or that all their operations should have been rendered abortive by intrigue.

“The tribunals,” observes the king, in his report on this occasion, “should be convinced that the lowest peasant, nay the meanest beggar, is a man, as well as the king, and that justice should be rendered to all. In the sight of justice, all men are equal; the peasant to the prince, and the prince to the peasant, when complaints are made by one against the other. In these cases, they should act according to the rules of equity, without distinction of persons. A tribunal which commits injustice is more dangerous, and more to be dreaded, than a band of robbers. Precautions may be taken against robbers, but no man is in safety against knaves who envelop themselves in the robes of justice, to satisfy their criminal passions.”

Carmer,

Carmer, the minister of justice in Silesia, was appointed chancellor, and the reformation again renewed. In 1780, the king addressed an order of the cabinet to him, to draw up a new code. (52) This magistrate must have laboured with ardour; for, in the following year, he printed a new judicial order in two large volumes in 8vo. of near one thousand pages, and since that period he has published several detached parts of the new code of which he was the compiler. But, in spite of all these endeavours, it may be asserted that the greatest confusion still reigns in the Prussian tribunals. The judges and chancery officers, accustomed to the ancient judicial system, are lost, since it has become necessary to conform to the new code. Such of them as are employed in examining the parties, carry under their arms the new judicial order, and at every case are obliged to consult, after a reference to the index, the book itself, to discover a rule for their conduct. In general, the persons who have been employed in the reformation of the laws under Frederick, are accused of having endeavoured rather to acquire themselves a name, than to establish the principles of that great prince. Whilst Carmer was composing, or giving directions for the composition of his code, whilst he was employed in resisting the cabal who were labouring to destroy it, innocent men, shut up in prisons, could with difficulty obtain some equivocal decision, which during the space of many months they had solicited. Such as wished to complain of any act of injustice, were either intimidated, or the point was meanly given up to those on whom  
menaces

menaces had no effect. Every decree issued from the chancery, although containing no more than two lines, and these not upon stamped paper, cost the wretched suitor, who was sometimes pleading only for the price of his daily labour, nearly three crowns; and these decrees were so multiplied, as, in the end, to exceed the sum for the recovery of which he had recourse to the tribunals. (53)

Nothing could be more entertaining than the manner of conducting the causes. Around a large table are seated eighteen or twenty young referees, each of them listening to two parties. Here a husband and wife are seen disputing about a separation; by the side of them is a jew accused of roguery and usury; at some distance stands a girl complaining against her seducer; a little further is a gentleman demanding justice against his tenant, or a peasant against his lord: here they are talking of adultery, rapes, or an assault; there, of corn, oats, or hay: in some parts nothing is heard but 5, 9, or 12 per cent. in others, maintenance is loudly demanded for an illegitimate child. All these confused voices mingle together, and form a whimsical murmur, in the midst of which it is impossible for a man, the most conversant in business, to preserve his attention. Add to this, the frequent disturbance of attention to which the young referee, who may be examining the most interesting matter, is liable, on hearing a husband recounting to his companion the infidelities of a wife; and, in fact, he often does not take the least notice of one half of what the parties referred to him are saying, whilst not a word of what others



others are repeating to his next neighbour escapes his ear.

One great obstacle to order in the tribunals, and the administration of justice under the reign of Frederick, arose from the uncertainty of their decisions, and the fear lest an order of the cabinet should overturn a sentence delivered by the ablest judges, after an examination of many months. The most enlightened prince may be deceived by imposture and dissimulation. Wickedness often assumes the mask of innocence, and seduces by calumny. The affair of the miller Arnold evinces that Frederick was not proof against this seduction. In what consists the magistrate's authority, when a single word of the sovereign can overturn his decision, and stay its execution? How can the honest citizen think himself secure in his possessions, confirmed by the tribunals of the state, if he is every moment in dread of seeing contestations, long since determined by equity, revived by malignity, and that property which the magistrate accorded to him with justice, wrested from him by violence? If Frederick could be deceived in matters of this nature, if he frequently committed unintentional acts of injustice, what a fatal example has he not given to his successors, who may be endowed with less information and philosophy! Frederick-William the Second has declared, on assuming the reins of government, that he is determined to see justice done to all his subjects, and that nothing shall interrupt its course; but has Providence secured to Prussia an uninterrupted succession of monarchs as enlightened as Frederick II:

or as just as Frederick-William? What would become of the arbitrary power of annulling the sentences of courts of justice in the hands of a perverse prince? It would be an act of real bounty to Prussia, after forming a good code of laws, to secure their operation by maintaining their authority with an inflexible severity. The security of property particularly requires, that, when the tribunals have pronounced respecting the contestations of the citizens, their decrees should be irrevocable, and their execution as speedy as infallible. Let the judiciary forms be prescribed with the greatest precaution, let tribunals be erected to scrutinize the conduct and decisions of the judges; but the forms prescribed by the law being once complied with, and a cause once submitted to the judgment of the persons appointed to try it, let there no longer remain any doubt respecting justice or injustice: let no complaint be listened to, and an eternal silence be imposed on the restless spirit of wrangling, and all resistance be overthrown. A German author has ascribed Frederick's conduct respecting the miller Arnold to the ill-humour occasioned by the gout, with which he was at that time tormented. In what a situation is a magistrate, a judge, a citizen, whose fate depends upon a fit of the gout!

Let us conclude from what we have observed, that, in our modern constitutions, a good code of laws is not the work of one man, but must originate in the combined knowledge of the enlightened men of a nation, when a nation is blessed with such, and not debased by the despotism which blasts all wisdom and all virtue.

Let

Let us conclude, that, after making laws, a more difficult task still remains, to get the citizens to cherish and obey them. It is impossible at once to overthrow the jurisprudence and the laws which have governed a nation for a long series of years, and suddenly to establish new decrees. To effect revolutions of this nature, the first study should be to mature and prepare them in the present generation, in order to procure them a favourable reception from those which are to come. The example of Frederick has induced many other sovereigns, friends to humanity, to attempt changes in their states; we are witnesses of their effects! The Romans, our masters in legislation, considered a legislative code as too important an object to be entrusted to one man; they felt the defects and insufficiency of the laws made by their kings and consuls, and sent deputies into Greece, to collect every thing excellent in the institutes of the different cities. Ten persons were employed in the revisal of them, a new code was presented to the people, who received it with applause, and all the orders of the state approved of it.

Frederick was more fortunate in the other branches of administration; it is impossible to stir a single step in the provinces, without being struck with admiration. The first year after the peace of Dresden, the two canals of Plauen and of Finow were completed. The former, designed to favour the navigation between Berlin and Magdebourg, takes its rise near Parey on the Elbe, the waters of which it unites with the Havel, into which it throws itself near Plauen.



it has three sluices, and is nine leagues in length. The second, which has thirteen sluices, rises near Liebenwalde on the Havel, traverses a space of two thousand feet measure of the Rhine, and joins the Oder above Oberberg, at the spot where that river receives the Havel. The lands cleared out, and the settlements of foreign cultivators, restore life and activity to the country, whilst new fabrics augment the industry of the towns. Two commercial companies spring up at Emden for the trade of China and Bengal; (54) Berlin and Potsdam become the most beautiful towns in Europe; every year a number of superb edifices rear up their heads under the auspices of Frederick, and form so many presents made by the monarch to his subjects. (55)

After the war of seven years, Frederick labours with ardour to efface on all sides the traces of this destructive scourge. He travels through the provinces, interrogates the provincial counsellors, enters into the most minute details, makes himself acquainted with all the evils, and applies himself to all sorts of remedies. (56) He restores to the communities of the country the money exacted from them as the price of safety, and distributes among the most necessitous families the magazines of provisions formed from Saxony and Poland. He orders bread and flour to be given daily to the poor, and seed to the husbandman for the purpose of sowing his ground; all the superfluous horses of the cavalry and convoys are gratuitously bestowed on them. The towns and villages receive extraordinary sums, to rebuild their habitations.

In

In 1763, twelve hundred houses were constructed in Pomerania, at the expence of the royal treasury.

Near five hundred thousand crowns are distributed in corn, flour, horses, and other articles. Almost 80,000 are expended in rebuilding the houses destroyed in the New Marche, and 32,000 in the improvement of lands, and the relief of the husbandmen. Berlin, Koningsberg, Magdebourg, Breslaw, Stettin, and Colberg, perceive their commerce revived by various useful establishments. Frederick gives orders for cutting the canal of Bromberg, which unites the Vistula to the Oder. The uncultivated lands are cleared out, the morasses drained; fertile fields now attract the eye, and fix the attention of the astonished traveller, in immense plains, which he, formerly, beheld covered with barren reeds or muddy waters. Two or three millions yearly are employed in these real bounties and improvements. (57)

Dikes are elevated on the Netze and the Warta, from Driesen as far as Custrin; along the Oder, from Custrin to Oderberg, along the Havel and the Elbe, round the great lake of Madua, in Pomerania, to the environs of Potzdam, and in several other districts. Whole tracts of country, once subject to inundations, rise, as it were, out of the bottom of the waters, appearing fertile, and fit for tillage. Two or three hundred thousand acres of fresh lands are distributed to new settlers; 500 villages, or hamlets, appear suddenly on these plains, where 34,000 families find their subsistence. Reckoning five persons to each family, here is an increase of population of 170,000 souls.

Besides these establishments, Frederick advances, to a great number of gentlemen and possessors of lands, several millions of money, to enable them to clear out and improve their estates, and to make new settlements upon them. These sums are either presents, or loans at 1 or 2 per cent. the interest of which is destined to pay the salaries of schoolmasters, or the pensions of widows and daughters of poor officers.

Upwards of 300 farms of the royal domains have been separated from the grand bailiwics, and given to cultivators.

He favours and encourages every where, as well as in Silesia, the abolition of commons, and the distribution of the lands of which they are composed. He orders mulberry-trees to be planted; and lupin, trefoil, and lucerne seeds to be distributed to all who demand them; and he excites activity, œconomy, an attachment to experiments, and industry, by bounties of every kind.

Though the greatest part of the lands in the Prussian dominions are by no means so fertile as in many other states, never have Frederick's subjects had reason to dread scarcity or famine. Immense magazines, constructed in every province, constantly offer efficacious resources for his army in time of war, and for all his subjects in case of dearth. By forming these magazines, he maintains the value of corn at a rate equally moderate and advantageous for the farmer, and, by opening them, he prevents the price of grain from rising so as to prove ruinous to the people. In 1772, whilst a severe famine was laying waste the most fertile



fertile provinces of Germany, the Prussians, on their sandy plains, perceived nothing of the public calamity, and furnished corn to their less provident neighbours.

The foreign manufactures established by Frederick in his states, enable his subjects to dispense with almost all sorts of foreign merchandize, the entry of which is prohibited. The linens, the woollen stuffs, the cloths, and other articles fabricated in the provinces of the king of Prussia, are transported into all the German states, to Switzerland, Italy, France, Poland, and even to Russia and China. The Prussians export, annually, linens to the amount of six millions of crowns, and cloths and woollen stuffs to the amount of four millions. The iron works and hardware of the county of La Mark produce a return of about one million into the country. The woods of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the corn, the flax, and woods of Prussia, form, also, very considerable articles of commerce; a commerce which must recover from the checks which it has received, if not experience a considerable increase, as Frederick-William has purged his dominions of those rapacious foreigners who imposed but too often on Frederick II.

This numerous body of manufacturers much augmented the population of the Prussian states under the reign of Frederick. In 1787, not less than 123,000 families were reckoned, who are employed in the manufacture of silks, woollens, linens, cottons, leather, and other raw materials. The merchandize which they worked up amounted, at that period, to 16 millions of crowns, one half of which was for foreign con-

sumption. If we reckon four persons to each family, it may be asserted that the Prussian manufactures give subsistence to half a million of workmen, which number forms about the twelfth part of the population.

Frederick protected and favoured the manufacturers by every possible means, and especially by making them large advances of money, by holding out premiums to encourage them, by establishing magazines of wool and other raw materials in several of the small towns, by exempting the manufacturing towns from enrolments and military service.

Frederick-William, his father, had established some manufactories of cloths, woollen stuffs, linens, and arms; Frederick II. added to them others of cotton, silk, porcelain, sugar, leather, &c. The manufactory of porcelain at Berlin employs 500 workmen, and, notwithstanding the rivalry of that of Saxony, sells a great quantity in foreign countries. The silk manufactures were very inconsiderable in the reign of Frederick-William I. in the last years of that of Frederick II. they occupied upwards of 5000 workmen; in the marche of Brandenburg alone, the working of the mines, which owes a part of its actual existence to the indefatigable pains and enlightened knowledge of Mr. de Heinitz, a minister of state, then occasioned a national produce of half a million.

Frederick introduced what may be termed a maritime navigation, which visibly increased during the course of his reign, and, since the peace of Hubertsbourg, the Prussian flag is respected by all nations.

In speaking of the finances and agriculture under Frederick,

Frederick, we cannot avoid placing by the side of this great king the name of Brenkenhoff, who either assisted with his advice, or directed the chief part of these operations. A single word will constitute the eulogium of this great man: Frederick said of him, "*I look upon the birth of Brenkenhoff as one of the most fortunate events of my reign.*" A prince capable of making such a remark, merits to be served only by great men. This extraordinary man, sent by his father into the world with half a florin in his pocket, found the means, by his talents, of gaining considerable sums. (58) He was at first page to prince Leopold of Dessau, whose confidence he obtained. Brenkenhoff had conceived for Frederick an admiration bordering on enthusiasm. Frederick had heard his talents mentioned. This prince had often been stopped in his enterprizes for want of a sufficient number of horses. When on the point of entering Bohemia, he consulted Brenkenhoff on the means of finding them. Brenkenhoff observed to the king that there was no want of horses in his own states, and that he could find him as many as he wanted, if he would but consent to check the luxury of persons who had equipages. "It is as easy," said he to the king, "to go with two horses in a coach, as four; and, under the necessity which your majesty now experiences, there can be nothing rigorous or unjust in an arrangement of this nature." The king approved of the proposal, and Brenkenhoff undertook to carry it into execution, on two conditions: the first, that there should be no distinction of persons; and, secondly, that the horses should



should be paid for at a fair price. He soon procured the king some thousands of fine horses. Other services which he rendered Frederick, convinced that prince of the talents, activity, and, above all, of the disinterestedness, of this œconomist, and he determined to attach him to his service.

On the death of the empress Elizabeth, Frederick, who had scarcely recovered the possession of Pomerania and the New Marche, immediately thought of restoring these ravaged provinces, even in the midst of war, and fixed upon Brenkenhoff for the execution of his project. He sent for him, and proposed to take him into his service, leaving the title and salary to his option. Brenkenhoff had the modesty to demand only two thousand crowns, and the title of privy counsellor of finances. He was charged with the restoration of these two provinces, and instantly began to labour at the accomplishment of his object. By dint of an incredible activity, and the pecuniary assistance of the king, he succeeded, in the course of a very few years, in effacing all the traces of the war. It is to him that several of the Prussian provinces owe the establishment of magazines, the reconstruction of their towns, the increase of population, the revival of agriculture, the construction of new fabrics, the draining of a great number of morasses, and a multitude of other operations, which will render his name immortal. (59)

But, the most brilliant part of Frederick's administration, and that which has given him so decided a superiority over all his neighbours, was the constitution of his armies. Let us hear himself paint the state of  
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the army under his father Frederick-William, and we shall then discover by what means he was able to carry it to its present point of perfection.

"The whole army," observes Frederick, in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, "as well infantry as cavalry, were put into winter quarters in the towns. To introduce order, and maintain discipline, the king published a military regulation, instructing each officer in his duty; and he himself carefully watched their conduct. Officers, respectable from age and services, were at the head of every corps, and gave additional force to subordination by their example and severity. The king reviewed his troops every year; he made them go through various evolutions, and, as he was himself the inspector of his army, he could not be deceived."

"On the first introduction of the new exercises, the officers were ignorant of the simple method of teaching them since practised, and made use of no other rhetoric but blows; which rendered this operation tedious and difficult. In each regiment, the corps of officers was purged of those men whose conduct or birth were repugnant to the principles of honour peculiar to the profession; and from this period the delicacy of the officers no longer suffers them to associate with any persons whose characters are not irreproachable."

"The battalions were ranged in four files, but charged in three: the battalion contained four divisions, and each division two platoons, exclusive of the grenadier company.

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“ The prince of Anhalt, who had studied war as a  
“ profession, perceiving that all possible advantage  
“ was not derived from the muskets, invented iron  
“ ramrods, and found the means of teaching the sol-  
“ diers to load with incredible quickness. From the  
“ year 1733, the first rank charged with bayonets at  
“ the end of their pieces.

“ The exercise was at that time performed as fol-  
“ lows : they began by handling their arms ; then  
“ loaded by platoons and divisions ; when firing, they  
“ advanced slowly, and retreated nearly in the same  
“ manner ; after which two impenetrable squares were  
“ formed opposite the enemy, and they finished by a  
“ scattering fire which was very useless. All these  
“ evolutions, however, were performed already with  
“ so much precision, that the movements of a batta-  
“ lion were like the play of the springs of the best  
“ made watch.

“ The king abolished cloaks, and shortened the  
“ dress of the infantry, and, to accelerate them in  
“ their march, attached two bât horses to each com-  
“ pany, to carry the tents and blankets for the sol-  
“ diers, when they took the field.

“ The king, from motives of precaution, instituted,  
“ in all the provinces, abundant magazines, which  
“ served to relieve the people in times of scarcity, and  
“ provided him with well furnished stores for the army  
“ in time of war.

“ Towards the year 1730, the rage for tall men  
“ was carried to such a height as will appear incredible  
“ to posterity. The common price paid for a man of

“ five



“ five feet ten inches, of the Rhine measure, was 700  
 “ crowns ; a man of six feet received 1000, and if  
 “ still taller, the price was greatly augmented : there  
 “ were several regiments which had not a single man  
 “ under five feet eight inches ; and the least man of  
 “ the army was five feet six, well measured.

“ To put some order in these enlistments, which  
 “ were made with confusion in the country, and oc-  
 “ casioned numberless disputes between the regiments ;  
 “ in the year 1733, the king divided all his provinces  
 “ into districts, which were assigned to different regi-  
 “ ments, and from which they might draw annually  
 “ thirty men in time of peace, and in war as far as one  
 “ hundred ; which rendered the army, as it were,  
 “ immortal, by furnishing it with a certain stock, from  
 “ which it has ever since been constantly renewed.

“ The cavalry, as well as the infantry, were com-  
 “ posed of very tall men, mounted on enormous  
 “ horses : they were so many colossuses on ele-  
 “ phants, who neither knew how to manœuvre or to  
 “ fight. There never was a review but some unskilful  
 “ cavalier received a fall. They were not masters of  
 “ their horses, and their officers had no notion of ca-  
 “ valry service ; not the smallest idea of war, no know-  
 “ ledge of ground, no theory, no practice of the evo-  
 “ lutions fit for cavalry in the day of action.

“ These excellent officers were of those œconomical  
 “ gentry who considered their companies as farms,  
 “ which they endeavoured to turn to the best ac-  
 “ count.

“ Besides what we have just mentioned, the long  
 “ peace

“ peace had bastardized the service. At the com-  
“ mencement of the reign of Frederick-William, they  
“ had refined upon the order of the regiments and on  
“ discipline; but as there was nothing left to be done  
“ in that branch, the speculations turned towards all  
“ sorts of things calculated only to please the eye:  
“ the soldier varnished his musket and furniture; the  
“ cavalier, his bridle, saddle, nay even his boots; the  
“ horses manes were plaited with ribbands; and at  
“ last cleanliness, which of itself is useful, degenerated  
“ into a ridiculous abuse. If the peace had lasted  
“ beyond the year 1740, in all probability we should  
“ ere now have acquired the habit of wearing paint  
“ and patches; but, a circumstance still more deplo-  
“ rable, is, that the essential points of war were totally  
“ neglected, and that our genius was narrowing itself  
“ from day to day by the most trivial details.

“ In spite of all these abuses, the infantry was good,  
“ and there reigned a severe discipline and strict order  
“ in that body; but the cavalry was absolutely ruined.  
“ The king, who was present at the battle of Malpla-  
“ quet, had seen the cavalry of the Imperialists three  
“ times repulsed; and at the sieges of Menin, Tour-  
“ nay, and Stralsund, the cavalry had no opportunity  
“ to acquire military reputation. The prince of An-  
“ halt, in some degree, felt the same prejudices. He  
“ could not pardon the cavalry of Stirheim the defeat  
“ at the first battle of Hochstedt, and imagined that  
“ this sort of soldiery were so unsteady, that it was im-  
“ possible to depend upon their efforts. His unfortu-  
“ nate prejudices were so fatal to our cavalry, that  
“ they

“ they remained without discipline, and were consequently found to be of no use in the moment when their services were required.

“ The infantry applied greatly to their profession ; and greatly were they superior to the cavalry, who, generally dispersed in the small towns, were less intelligent and animated than the former. Amongst the generals were to be found more bravery than talents. The prince of Anhalt was the only one amongst them capable of commanding an army : this he well knew, and availed himself, upon all occasions whatsoever, of his superiority, that he might have the more court paid him, and stand higher than the others.

“ During the king's reign, the fortifications of Magdebourg and Wesel were completed, and those of Stettin were constructed under the conduct of colonel Walrawe, but directed by the prince of Anhalt.

“ The king created a corps of thirty engineers, who formed themselves by these different works : he filled his arsenal with trains of artillery for sieges and for the field ; he had excellent artillery officers ; and the cadets, that nursery of officers, repaired all the losses that happened in his army by death ; and this plan succeeded the better, as these young men left the military school with all the knowledge which an officer ought to have acquired.

“ Such was the progress of the Prussian soldiery till the death of the late king. We may apply to this body what Vegetius said of the Romans : their discipline made them triumph over the artifice of  
“ the



“the Greeks, the strength of the Germans, the lofty stature of the Gauls, and over all the nations of the earth.”

It was Frederick-William, then, who laid the foundation of this formidable army, which performed such prodigies of valour under Frederick II. As to the former, they were only an object of amusement and parade. Never had these troops served but in detachments, or auxiliary corps; and, therefore, the difficulty lay in forming them into one machine, and in communicating to them one common movement.

Four means were employed by Frederick to bring his army to perfection; discipline, augmentation, continual exercise, and the invention of a new tactic.

It was the good fortune of Frederick to discover, when he ascended the throne, that every sudden innovation is dangerous, and that all such measures should be avoided, unless necessity requires them. On this principle, he did not touch the constitution of the army, thus paying the respect he merited to the memory of his father. All the changes which he did make, were a kind of erection upon the foundations laid by Frederick-William. He augmented the army, he doubled the artillery and magazines.

The severest discipline was always observed among these troops. Though he had an aversion to shed blood, and shuddered as often as he was obliged to sign a sentence of death, he never pardoned a soldier who was wanting to subordination; and the slightest gesture against the ill treatment of an officer, however unjust, was punished inevitably with death. (60)

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The officer, the non-commissioned officer, and simple soldier, know exactly the nature of their duty, and they must fulfil it with the most scrupulous precision. A ramrod dropt, a shoulder too far or too little advanced, always exposed the offending soldier to a few strokes of a cane. Some foreigners are of opinion that these trifles do not merit so harsh and humiliating a punishment; but it must be observed that the punishment was inflicted less on the fault itself, than on the want of exactness, which might insensibly lead to greater disorders, and gradually sap the foundations of subordination and discipline. A daily account of every thing that passed in each regiment was regularly drawn up, and underwent the king's examination.

Frederick was perfectly sensible of the full effect of censure and commendations, and never did man know better how to dispense the one and the other; I do not say always with justice, but in the way the best suited to his own interest, and the most apt to produce a general impression on the minds of the whole army, and to derive the most advantage from the services of each officer, in consequence of the knowledge which he possessed of his character. (61)

We have seen what was the army of Frederick's father: at his death, it was composed of more than 200,000 men. These augmentations he made by little and little, that he might continue to form, as he created; and to avoid the expences arising from too sudden an augmentation.

The Prussian army is divided into three classes, the field regiments, the garrison regiments, and the free

battalions. The first class comprised all the regiments of infantry, known by the name of *Feldregimenter*, or regiments who take the field, all the cuirassiers, dragoons, hussars, and regiments of artillery. The second is composed of what are called *Garnison-regimenter*, whose duty it is to guard the fortresses and the interior parts of the country. These regiments, sometimes, take the field, and are employed in the rear of the army, where they occupy the communications, and the posts which support them. The third class, which is not numerous in time of peace, is that of the *Freybattaillons*, troops destined to guard the outposts, and usually collected in haste at the beginning of a war. In general, these troops are ill composed, and serve only to swell the number.

The class of field infantry is subdivided into the battalions of guards, the infantry, fusileers, and grenadiers.

The garrison regiments are divided into infantry, fusileers, and artillery. It is in these regiments that all the foreign recruits are placed on their arrival, and supplies are drawn from them to complete the field army.

The garrison artillery are distributed in the fortresses; besides which, there is a corps of horse artillery in garrison at Potzdam, in which the officers of the garrison artillery alternately serve and are exercised.

The arrangement of the cantons, or districts, takes place in all the Prussian states, as we have described it in Silesia. Besides the *Beurlaubten*, or soldiers sent back, whom we have spoken of, the captain is authorized



rized to distribute, amongst those who remain with the regiment, thirty or forty working permissions, and sometimes as far as 50 or 60. The captains answer for those who go to work out of the town, and are obliged to fill up the vacancies if they desert. These workmen do no duty: they are only obliged to appear at the grand exercises, at the church parades, and at roll-calling every night. During the two months of the grand manœuvres, they must be present, as well as the natives of the country sent back to their villages, at which times only they receive their pay. For the ten remaining months of the year the pay belongs to their captain. We may judge from hence of the facility with which such permissions are granted; the captain, who does not wish to forfeit his perquisite, charges a subaltern or non-commissioned officer to find him *workmen*. This commission is easily executed by dint of punishments and bad treatment, if he can succeed no other way. The soldiers understand perfectly the meaning of this procedure, and seek for work. If they persist, however, in turning a deaf ear to these hints, the subaltern speaks out, and they are plainly told they must obey, if they do not wish to expose their backs to the canes of the whole company.

This arrangement has its advantage, as well as that for the natives who return home. The soldier who works in the garrisons, acquires the habit of activity, or preserves it, if already contracted. He lives more at his ease, and is the better enabled to support his family, when married.

It has been alledged that the sudden and public punishment of the cane produces an excellent effect on the soldiers. I shall not dispute the point, but it must be admitted that many of the Prussian officers abuse their power in this respect in the most shameful manner. The heart revolts at seeing young officers, just let out from the country dwellings of their parents, (and, *this*, sometimes, after so vulgar an education, that they and their father's cattle may be said to have lived in common under the same roof,) availing themselves of the very first moment of a reputable situation in the world, publicly to inflict a caning, without reason, and frequently to exercise a right too flattering to their pride, on veteran soldiers covered with wounds, who have shed their blood for the state, and to whom the nation is indebted for a share of its security and glory. But the man of humanity is doubly shocked, when he observes captains themselves, who should have acquired sentiments of decency and honour from their experience and commerce with the world, debase themselves by acting the part of executioners, and, with an inflamed visage and furious eye, giving thirty or forty strokes to a wretch who remains immoveable under their cane in the middle of a street or public place. It is far from my intention to paint in odious colours the Prussian officers, many of whom, in other respects, are possessed of infinite merit and much honour; but I should be happy to make those men blush for their conduct in this particular, whom passion, habit, or example, lead to excesses which fill every honest man with indignation, and compel him to withhold from them

them that esteem which otherwise they so well deserve.

They are not insensible in Prussia of the horror which this barbarous treatment excites in the breast of foreigners, and the want of recruits has sometimes tempted the government to declare that it was prohibited under the severest penalties.

Not many years have elapsed since a pretended letter from general Mœllendorf to the officers made its appearance in all the public prints, in which he represents to them, in the most philosophic terms, that soldiers are men like themselves, and forbids them to ill-treat them either by words or blows. This letter was universally read at Berlin: it was printed, and carefully translated into all the foreign papers; yet M. de Mœllendorf had at least no public concern in it, nor was it ever communicated to the officers.

The instruction for the Prussian soldier is extremely simple and methodical. On his arrival at the regiment, he is turned over to a non-commissioned officer of his company, who is to give him the first lessons. He begins by teaching him to march, to observe his equilibrium, and stand well upon his centre, to handle his arms with precision, and load and fire with the greatest quickness. When he is sufficiently acquainted with this exercise, he joins the platoon of the recruits of the company.

During the first part of his instruction, he is every day inspected by one of the officers, who carefully observe whether the rudiments he is taught are good and uniform. The squad of recruits is always exercised by



an officer. The captain every day visits the recruits of his company, assists at their instruction, selects those who are the most advanced in their exercise, incorporates them into the platoons of the company, and they perform their manœuvres henceforward with the battalion.

The months of May and June are appointed for the grand exercises, and during these two months the soldiers have scarcely any relaxation. The different parts of the instruction are distributed among the officers of the company. These parties afterwards join on forming the battalion, and execute on a great scale what they have been practising upon one much less extended.

The soldier is paid every five days. On the first of the month the captain receives the pay of the company, and distributes it himself to the soldiers.

Each company is composed of 200 men, and commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, two sub-lieutenants, two ensigns, and eight officers of equal rank. The first of these subalterns must be a gentleman by birth; he carries the colours of the company, and becomes, in his turn, an officer of the regiment. He is called *Fahnjunker* (cadet of the colours).

The cavalry, such as it now is in Prussia, was entirely instituted by Frederick. It is divided into body guards, guards, carabineers, cuirassiers, dragoons, hussars, and bosniacs. The squadrons all consist of 200 men. In the space of four or five days the whole army may be collected.

It was by continual manœuvres and exercises that  
Frederick

Frederick succeeded in always keeping the soldier in the best training. The garrison towns are real camps, where the troops are constantly exercising; and the field exercises form so many real fields of battle, in which the Prussian armies, divided into enemy's parties, place themselves in all possible situations, and study, arms in hand, every resource of art, to conquer, or, at least, not to be defeated. Frederick was the soul of all these exercises, and his indefatigable activity occasioned him to be present in every part of his army. At Potsdam he exercised, in person, his body guards, and never suffered a day to escape him, except when he was ill, without appearing on the parade. As soon as the roads became passable in spring, he flew from province to province, reviewing his whole army, observing their various progress, punishing neglect, redressing grievances, and, by reproaches or commendations opportunely distributed, inflaming or awakening the military zeal, thus calling forth fresh efforts, and giving rise to fresh successes. These expeditions and reviews lasted the whole summer. It was on these occasions that this indefatigable prince, even to the last year of his life, loaded with infirmities, after travelling upwards of two hundred leagues, appeared before sunrise at the head of his squadrons; passed one half of the day in examining them, or commanding the manœuvres, and returned, covered with dust, and exposed to heat, to converse with his generals or men of letters, and to dedicate his evenings to the details of administration, or conversations on literature and philosophy.

The autumn was especially set apart for the manœuvres of Potzdam; it was there that Frederick essayed those skilful marches, those combined evolutions, those able fictitious manœuvres, which constitute his glory, and are still the object of the envy and despair of all his neighbours. These manœuvres were as seriously performed as in the field of battle. A representation was usually given in them of some battle lost or gained by Frederick. He examined, and made all his officers remark, where he might have done better, and by learning to avoid, or to repair the faults by which he had suffered, he exercised himself to become invincible.

At first the king admitted no foreigners at his reviews; he afterwards permitted a few to be spectators, but it was necessary to write to him, to obtain that permission: at the end of his reign, every officer of distinction enjoyed this liberty on demanding it.

Frederick formed his infantry in three ranks, and preferred making them fight with fire arms, (62) "*To attack the enemy without the advantage of fire,*" he observed, "*is fighting against arms with sticks.*" It is pretended that policy, and the fear of losing his soldiers, made him adopt this principle. An infantry composed in great measure of foreigners collected together from a variety of different quarters, could neither be animated by the love of the country nor of the sovereign. Force and discipline alone could make them fight, and soldiers are always ready to seize the first opportunity of deserting and going over to the enemy. Frederick was not ignorant of the advantage  
of



of charging with cold iron, but he dreaded the consequences which I have mentioned. Yet, occasions arose, during which he did not allow his troops to fire, but made the infantry advance intrepidly, and in order, to the enemy. (63)

The Prussian infantry march wonderfully well, the soldier exhibiting nothing of a stiff or straitened air, and almost constantly preserving silence, without standing in need of the cadence of musical instruments; yet are his steps not less in time, or less exactly measured, than if the drum were beating.

The king's favourite manœuvres were the change of front, the basis of which is always the oblique order, and the developement of the columns on the right or left. By means of this developement, he brought his forces to bear on the point he wished, kept the weak part of his army sheltered from the heat of the battle, and fell suddenly on the feeblest quarter of his adversary.

But, his greatest advantage and superiority lay in his false manœuvres, the art of which he possessed far beyond any preceding or contemporary general. The greatest secrecy was always observed respecting the plan of the engagement. No person was acquainted with the real point to which the attack was directed, but himself and a few adjutants. All the rest obeyed mechanically, without carrying their ideas beyond the word of command, and without attempting to divine the motive of the manœuvres.

The oblique order, which Frederick borrowed from the ancients, has been adapted by this prince to modern

dern tactics. It consists, as we have already said, in the rapid developement of one of the wings of the attacking army on the enemy's wing intended to be borne down, whilst the other is kept under shelter. This manœuvre, which is extremely difficult, requires well-disciplined troops, the most scrupulous exactitude, united with a quick and accurately marking eye on the part of the generals at the head of columns, and the greatest precision on that of the officers who lead the divisions. It is this manœuvre, the success of which was due to the indefatigable pains he took in the exercises during peace, that gained him the battles of Lissa, Hohen-Friedberg, and Rosbach; it was this manœuvre that decided the day at Freyberg, and covered prince Henry with glory. By these means, Frederick sometimes got the start of the enemy by hours in their manœuvres, kept them in continual alarms for their whole front, and particularly for the side on which he never intended making the attack; then throwing open at once one of his wings on the opposite side, he overthrew one wing of the enemy at the very moment they were endeavouring to penetrate his designs, or to guard against his false attacks. He then passed successively to their army, into which the surprise had generally diffused dismay, disorder, and confusion.

The order of battle of the Prussian cavalry is in three ranks. Frederick contended that all cavalry should be ranged in that order. He made them charge in two, and when it happened that a squadron going to the charge opened out, became separated, or was obliged to lengthen its front, not to be taken in flank,

flank, he found in the third rank a resource for filling up the vacancies, or for lengthening the front on the right or left.

He allowed no interval between the squadrons of the first line ; but thought that to leave spaces between these squadrons was only multiplying flanks, without procuring any advantage. If he sometimes admitted distances of six or seven feet, it was only when absolutely necessary, and under peculiar circumstances.

The squadrons of the second line had, in general, intervals equal to their front, yet sometimes exceeded it. According to his idea, the principal attention of a second line was to watch over the flank of the first ; and when, in advancing, the ground opened out, he filled it from this second line, by gradually pushing forward his squadrons on the flank of the first.

The officers were always out of the rank : Frederick resolved that they should not content themselves with the duty of simple cavaliers, but animate the troops by their example, be always at hand to stop and restrain them after a charge, and manœuvre them according to circumstances, whether by leading them to attack the flanks or rear of the enemy's infantry, or by detaching after the fugitives, and restoring order amongst the remainder, to charge a second line, or disperse others who might be attempting to rally.

The Prussian cavalry always charge on the full gallop. This method of charging (observed the king) makes the enemy, if not habituated to charging in the same manner, give way, even before you reach their ranks. And, in fact, a line of cavalry so determined  
has



has something formidable in its appearance; the horses on which they are ready to pour, if unaccustomed to this spectacle, are afraid and wheel about. Thus, also, are cowards hindered from flying or remaining behind: they are hurried on by their horses, and the fear of being thrown down, and crushed under the horses' feet, prevents them from stopping a single instant.

The Prussian cavalry always perform their manoeuvres, with the greatest dexterity, sword in hand, and frequently on the full gallop. Frederick found the means of giving his cavalry a rapidity in their movements unknown to all other nations. These manoeuvres were executed with so much impetuosity, that few of them took place without the loss of some horses, and indeed of horsemen, trodden under foot.

It was by profiting by the faults of his cavalry, and by dint of observation, that Frederick became enabled to render the operations of this corps so very perfect. In the two first wars of Silesia, he perceived the little effect of the fire of his cavalry, who, with more temerity than cool and well-directed courage, were almost perpetually engaged in discharging their pistols. Immediately after the peace, by his orders, the figures of men of straw were exposed to them, and, against these, but, constantly, without hitting their mark, they fired their pistols. After thus making them feel the inutility of such a discharge, he exercised them in falling on these figures sword in hand. The soldier, whom his sovereign did not disdain enlightening, quitted with pleasure his ancient method, especially when he became convinced of the good effects of side arms.

Frederick

Frederick was not less attentive in forming the officers of the cavalry, than in correctly disciplining the private foldier. The science of skirmishing is, in the idea of this prince, as essential to a cavalry officer, as that of engineering is to an officer of infantry. It is by the study and exercise of this science that they learn to know countries, to become acquainted with the nature and extent of ground, to judge of the dispositions and movements of the enemy's troops, and to form a just eye for observation. It is this science which forms the best generals. Frederick, convinced of this truth, used to send the young officers of cavalry, in whom he discovered activity and intelligence, to serve for some time in the hussar regiments. These regiments formed a school for skirmishing. Several of them are quartered in the towns and villages of Silesia, where they remain, constantly, on the watch, as if the enemy were always at hand and ready to surprize them. As soon as the harvest was over, and the lands cleared, they took the field and made war against each other. They occasioned alarms, night and day, laid ambuscades, tried to cut off convoys, &c. In every company there are twenty hussars who know how to read and write, and are called patrollers. Out of this number, the captain, selecting several, ordered them to reconnoitre a village, examine the nature and course of a rivulet, beat the woods, &c. and to *him* were they obliged, on their return, to communicate their discoveries and remarks.

During the seven years war, the king of Prussia kept on foot 100 squadrons of hussars, of 150 men each.

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The exercises and manœuvres have formed them into the best hussars in Europe. They are almost all mounted on Polish horses, and have the advantage of being able to charge in a line, as they actually did, as well as upon other occasions, at the battle of Hohen-Friedberg, where the regiment of Natzmer charged in a squadron the Saxon carabineers, overthrew them, and carried off their kettle-drums.

Let us now endeavour to give the reader some idea of the manœuvres of the Prussian cavalry.

This cavalry usually marches by half companies, or quarters of a squadron. They generally have on the right and left of the columns a number of horsemen, at the distance of about musket-shot, marching one by one, or in small platoons, with uplifted carbines. These cavaliers marching forward, and still keeping in a line with the head of the column, approach the hollow ways, woods, hedges, &c. and on the first signal of the trumpet rejoin their troops full-speed.

They observe their distances in marching with the most scrupulous exactness. If the difficulties occasioned by the nature of the ground sometimes produce irregularities, this inconvenience is soon remedied by the attention of the officers, and there is scarcely time to perceive them.

The cavalry marching in the order above mentioned, after recalling the platoons detached on each flank, form in order of battle by two different methods; the one extremely simple, to face their left flank by a quarter wheel or conversion to the left of each division, the other to form a front on the side on  
which



which they were marching. This second method is rather remarkable, and merits explanation. On the first signal, or word of command, the column continuing to march, each squadron forms, the first division bearing on the right and getting into a trot; the second advancing before it, or even inclining a little to the right; the two latter bearing on the left, and all the three setting off in a gallop to form on the left of the first division. As soon as they are arrived there, the commander of the squadron cries out, "*Halt! form a line!*" This being executed in an instant, the squadron continues its march. This manœuvre should be seen, for the purpose of giving the spectator a just idea of the rapidity and precision with which it is performed.

The squadrons thus formed, the officer at the head of the column, at the command of the general, orders them to halt, and they moderately close their files, leaving between them only an interval of five or six paces. It is from this disposition that the development and forming of the line takes place. That I may be better understood, I shall suppose a column of twenty five squadrons disposed in the manner which I have described. In this case, at the word of command to open out the column, the thirteenth squadron not stirring, the first twelve turn their horses heads to the right, and march by their right flank: the last twelve face in the same manner to the left, and march by their left flank. As soon as the right file of the twelfth squadron, and the left file of the fourteenth, have gained the flanks at the distance of the front of  
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their squadron, they stop, and face about, the other files doing the same; and as soon as the squadrons are formed, they march forward, getting into a line with the thirteenth squadron, which, as soon as it is unmasked, advances likewise at a slow pace. All the other squadrons successively performing the same manœuvre, the line is completely formed without intervals, and advances together. It is in a trot that the squadrons move to right and left on the flanks. It is evident that the precision of this manœuvre depends on the exactitude and quickness of the eye of the officers commanding squadrons, in stopping the right or left file. The Prussian officers are so perfectly habituated to it, that not more than four minutes are requisite to form thirty-five squadrons in this manner, in two lines, the one of twenty-five, the other of ten, without the smallest disorder.

The line thus formed with the utmost regularity, and halting, the spare horses of the army are sent out of the squadrons. It is usual to place them forward in one rank, to represent an enemy's line.

The Prussian cavalry execute three sorts of charges; the one straight forward, without turning to the right or left; the other, by throwing themselves on the right, to over-reach the left of the enemy's line, by one or two squadrons; the third, by advancing in like manner on the left, to get round their right flank.

All these charges are executed on the full gallop, during the length of six or seven hundred yards. At the word *balt!* the whole body stands still, and afterwards forms the line.

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The king sometimes made choice of very difficult ground for these manœuvres, on which were high furrows, holes, bushes, &c.

After a charge, when it is thought proper to bring back the cavalry to the same ground which they had before occupied, they perform the half circuit to the right by fours. Frederick preferred this, as the most simple method.

The following manœuvre appears to have for its object, to rush with impetuosity on the exposed flank of the enemy, without giving them time to prepare against it.

The line, being broken to the right and left by quarter squadrons, sets out immediately on a trot; the division which forms the head of the column then turns to the right or left, directing its march towards a given point of view, and is followed by all the other divisions: when the last has turned the pivot, and passed it as far as is thought necessary, the line forms, and instantly charges in a gallop. Every thing is simple in this manœuvre, but it is impossible not to admire the vivacity with which it is executed by the Prussian cavalry.

This cavalry practise another peculiar manœuvre for a line of infantry. To execute it, the king usually took five or six squadrons, which he disposed in a column by half squadrons. A line is traced out by stakes which represents the infantry. The cavalry column march directly up to the line, and at the distance of 150 paces set off in a gallop. The first troop, sometimes followed by the second, pass beyond



the line, 100 or 150 paces before they halt. The following troop turn to the left of this line, and pass it as far as it extends. The next troop turn to the right and imitate the preceding troop. These two troops are followed by the others who turn alternately to right and left along the line, until they are ordered to halt.

There is another manœuvre relative to the conduct to be pursued by a line of cavalry after overthrowing that of the enemy. The line halting, after having made the charge, some troops are detached from it in a trot, who scatter themselves along the front, fire their pistols, and appear to be following the fugitives. At the signal given them by a trumpet, all these troops rally with the greatest celerity, opposite to the intervals they had occasioned by quitting the line, which now marches forward, and rejoins them, to make a second charge.

On beholding all these manœuvres we are lost in astonishment and admiration, and can scarcely believe it possible for human art to carry activity, order, and precision, to a higher point of perfection.

Such are the prodigious effects to be produced by continual exercises, performed under the eye of an indefatigable sovereign, whose soldiers were witnesses to his superior knowledge. Merit, titles, services, seniority, with him, were no apologies for ignorance or negligence in any branch whatever. The exercise must not only be general, but executed in the most perfect manner. The dragoon regiment of Bareith, which gained immortal glory at the battle of Hohen-Friedberg,

Friedberg, where they took 67 colours from the enemy, and made upwards of 2000 prisoners, appeared one day at the camp something worse exercised than the others. The king manifested his discontent, and ordered them to continue their exercises for three months. At the camp of Magdebourg, another regiment in the same situation received the same order; and Frederick mortified them so far as to give them the major of another regiment to exercise them, and bring them to the point of perfection at which he aimed. Not a review or a manœuvre passed without some order of this nature from Frederick.

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## SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND. THE WAR OF THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION. THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION.

1772—1785.

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**F**REDERICK II. appeared to have satisfied his ambition, with respect to conquests, at the conclusion of the seven years war. Master of a considerable province, forming one of the most valuable parts of his dominions, dreaded by his neighbours, covered with the laurels of glory, his whole attention was bent to preserve the fruit of his victories; nor was he inclined to risk, in a new war, that fame which he had purchased by such a multitude of exertions. He seemed to have no other wish but to live in peace, and if he was eventually obliged to take up arms, it was no longer as a conqueror, but to acquire a new species of glory, in stepping forth the protector and defender of the Germanic constitution.

In 1772, Frederick discovered a fresh opportunity of adding to his states, without shedding blood; and he embraced it, if not as a philosopher, at least as an able politician.

Poland, proud of the right of electing her sovereigns, and whose fate it so often is to take such as are given



given her by her neighbours; Poland, exhausted by dissensions, and torn to pieces by internal factions, offered an easy prey to the avidity of those neighbours. The empress of Russia, whilst employed in appeasing the troubles of this unhappy kingdom, determined to pay herself for her good offices, by despoiling the republic she was protecting of some provinces which suited her convenience. The Poles were unable to defend themselves; Maria-Theresa and Frederick alone were able to support them. Catherine II. formed a treaty with these courts, by which it was agreed that each of them should pretend rights, and put in claims to certain provinces, and that the partition should be made in concert. This treaty concluded, the three powers unveiled their projects, respectively published the pretensions which they alleged against Poland, (64) and took possession of what they chose. Frederick got Elbing and all Polish Prussia, except the cities of Thorn and Dantzick.

The Polish ministers made representations, (65) and they were just; but what avail representations the most just, when not seconded by force, against three combined powers able to carry all before them? Frederick paid no attention to them; he made all Polish Prussia pass under his domination, and stationed his troops at the very gates of Thorn and Dantzick; he repaired and widened the highways of the province, ordered bridges to be built over the rivulets and rivers, and his coat of arms to be every where affixed.

Russia took for the separation of her limits the river Wella, from its source to the place where it discharges

itself into the Niemen, and from the head of the river Benefina to Rzezyca, where it falls into the Dnieper.

Prussia appropriated to herself Polish Prussia, and the part of Great Poland situated beyond the Netze.

The house of Austria took possession of all the left bank of the Vistula, from the salt mines to the spot where the Wiroz falls into that river, at fourteen German miles from Warsaw, with all the palatinate of Belz, Red Russia, and the greatest part of Wolhynia as far as Ruez.

These portions, very unequal in themselves, were fixed upon in conformity to the pretensions of each power, and the secret treaties into which they had entered.

Prussia possessed 900 square leagues, Austria 2700, and Russia 3440. The latter territory, however, though very extensive, was of less importance than those of the two other powers.

These invasions gave rise to historical researches, especially with respect to the titles set forth by the king of Prussia in his manifesto. Their want of foundation was evidently pointed out; but Frederick, who cared no more for manifestoes than for those who made them, let the civilians talk, and kept his new acquisition. (66)

The senatorial assembly of Poland, and a new council of the senate, determined to lay before the powers, guarantees of the treaties of Oliva, Wielau, and Carlowitz, this dismemberment of the kingdom, and particularly to remind the three co-partitioning powers of the

the solemn promises they had made, never to invade the territory of the republic, and to preserve it in all its splendor.

In consequence of this determination, Stanislaus Augustus answered the declaration of the three courts, and proved that they could have no claims on the republic, on account of what was stipulated in the treaties of Wielau and Oliva, and of what was concluded with Russia in 1686. He demanded, at the same time, the support of the mediators, guarantees of the treaty of Oliva ; protested in the most solemn manner against these acts of violence ; and concluded by trusting the result to Heaven and the occurrences of a future time.

Notwithstanding that the troops of Joseph II. already occupied several districts, an inclination to conspiracy and revolt sprang up, which, had it not been crushed in time, might have become serious. Frederick, grown diffident from this example, treated his new subjects with severity, and prohibited all the nobles and others from engaging in the service of foreign powers, and from travelling out of the country, without an express permission signed by his own hand ; (67) and when the king of Poland wished to convoke a council of the senate, Frederick sent notices to all the districts in possession of his troops, forbidding the senators of the kingdom, now his subjects, under pain of confiscation of their estates, and forfeiture of their indigenous rights, to repair to Warsaw, there to assist at the council assembled by his Polish majesty.

Not content with this step, he ordered his minister



to deliver a declaration (68) to postpone that assembly, and hinder it from being called. His ministers, and those of Catherine II. however, strongly insisted on the holding of a national assembly, threatening the king, in case of refusal, with the appearance of the troops of their respective sovereigns at the gates of Warsaw, to command a convention. These menaces induced the king of Poland to accelerate, by a month, the convocation of the senate.

The object of the allied powers in demanding a national assembly was to ratify their claims: in consequence, they concerted a project to be laid before the council of the senate, in which they established these rights, and proposed, that, at the approaching diet, the king and states should declare them well founded, and their entry into possession lawful; after which the frontiers of the kingdom should be regulated by the diet, and confirmed by the states.

The grand council of the senate assembled in 1773, but without coming to any conclusion. Catherine, who wished to accelerate the negotiations, sent back the Polish prisoners she had retained, and Frederick declared to the minister of the crown, that, if the future diet should think proper to refuse their consent to the partition, they should see that he could do without it.

The three powers, however, still advanced the body of their troops, and penetrated farther into the country. The Poles continued to make complaints and representations, whilst the allied powers continued to overwhelm the public with manifestoes and memorials.

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At length, the king of Poland declared, that, since the three allied courts demanded a confederation, and the nation had engaged to have one, he approved it. This measure was extorted from him by the ministers of the three courts, who protested, that, if he did not accede to the confederation that very day, the city of Warsaw should be invested by fifty thousand men.

The confederation was signed, and the diet opened a few days afterwards. The spirit of confusion and delirium reigned in this assembly. The allied powers, who had promised not to intermeddle with affairs, delivered, notwithstanding, a declaration to the diet, in which they protested, that they would not suffer the confederation to depend on the diet, nor would they permit it to break up until after the conclusion of the cessional treaties with the three powers, and the final arrangement of every other point in question.

The king of Poland, irritated at this declaration, which rendered the three powers judges in their own cause, declared, that he could not consent to the partition; and that the decision of this affair must be referred to those powers which had mediated the treaty of peace with Poland. But as these powers had declared that they would not interfere in it, Stanislaus proposed to submit to the arbitration of some impartial power. Nothing could be more equitable than this proposition, which was accordingly so displeasing to the ministers of the allies, as to make them not only insist on having the affair terminated in eight days, but, urge violent menaces, in case of a refusal.

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In this extremity, the king made a speech to the diet, (69) laying before them his final sentiments, and proposing to send a fresh note to the three courts. He was answered by fresh menaces. At length, a commission was named, and the partition of Poland ratified, contrary to the expectations of the whole nation. The king, the senators, and nuncios, by this act, acknowledged that the territories, of which the three powers had taken possession, belonged to them of right. The treaties were signed. But, the last confederation protested by a manifesto. (70)

After this ratification, the three powers prescribed to the diet the new form of government they thought fit to give to Poland.

In 1774, the Prussian troops summoned the grand military officer of Great Poland to quit the country, which he occupied with his forces; but he complained to the delegation, and demanded their instructions on the subject. The commission of war directed him, by order of the general confederation, not to retire till necessity obliged him.

The delegation, considering the march of the Prussians towards the Warta as an infraction of the treaties, delivered a memorial on the subject to the ministers of the three allied powers, and declared that, after this measure of the Prussians, they would no longer continue their assembly. The memorial addressed to the Prussian minister was very vehement and harsh, and the answer breathed the same violence. Disagreeable consequences were foreseen from this fresh altercation, and it was resolved to withdraw both  
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the memorial and the answer. The delegation now published one more moderate than the former, (71) in which they protested against every act committed in violation of the late treaty.

Though there was a treaty concluded with the delegation respecting the dismemberment of Poland, the co-partitioning powers could not agree upon the limitation of the frontiers. It seemed as if each of the powers felt a reluctance in taking the lead in this business, as, at the moment when every point appeared to be settled, fresh difficulties arose to delay its execution.

The courts of Petersburg and Berlin maintained, however, that nothing was more simple than this fixation of the limits; that it was only necessary to cast their eyes upon a map, to discover the rivers which might serve as barriers; and that it was superfluous to enter into written engagements on the subject, since the determinate course of those rivers marked out the frontiers with sufficient accuracy.

In consequence of this pretension, these courts transmitted to the delegation a plan relative to the new frontiers, with a geographical chart, (72) whereon the limits were pointed out, to be established between the possessions of their majesties and those of the Polish republic.

Pending these discussions respecting the limits of the co-partitioning states, a brisk action took place in the palatinate of Cujavia, between the Prussian general Laffow and the Polish regimentary Kraczewski. Dranowicz, a Prussian major, at the head of 500 Bosniacs,

niacs, occupied Kieckzewo, and Jronacłow. He insisted that the regimentary should evacuate Complino, and, on his refusal, marched against him with a detachment of 50 men. But he was repulsed, and received a shot in his breast. General Laffow, informed of this action, collected the remainder of his Bosniacs, and was hardy enough to attack the Poles, then 12,000 strong. The action lasted several hours; the general had his horse shot under him, and was taken prisoner by the Uhlans. But, fortunately for him, whilst the soldiers who had him in their possession were employed in stripping him, some Bosniacs arrived, and rescued him from their hands. At the same time, Boyer, a Prussian major-general, fell with his infantry on the Poles, in their retreat from Complino. He attacked their rear guard, killed two hundred men, and made forty prisoners. The loss of the Prussians was less considerable by one half; but the Polish regimentary, and the Prussian major Dranowicz, died of their wounds.

When the Prussian minister delivered to the delegation the chart of the boundaries to which his court limited its new acquisitions in Poland, the republic thought proper to make observations on it, and to inform him, that, in ceding to the court of Berlin the district of Great Poland within the Netze, stretching along that river from the frontiers of the New Marche to the Vistula, near to Sordon and Soletz, the republic never meant to extend this cession beyond those parts of the palatinates of Posenia and Gnesnia which lie on the right of the Notecz, but that a boundary  
line

line of demarkation should be fixed from the point of the frontier of the latter palatinate the most contiguous to the Vistula, which is Naklow, by the palatinate of Ironoclaw, as far as the Vistula: so that this line, commencing at the Notecz, which forms the separation between the palatinates of Gnesnia and Ironoclaw, following pretty nearly the course of the Brda, should terminate at the nearest point of the Vistula, between Sordon and Soletz; but that, instead of this line, the limits traced by the chart of the court of Berlin extended much farther; and, in lieu of a very small portion of the palatinate of Ironoclaw, they added to the new possessions of the king of Prussia the greatest part of this latter palatinate, and part of that of Brezc, in Cujavia, as far as the source of the Notecz, beyond cape Golpho. This extent was evidently contrary both to the sense and letter of the treaty of cession, since it would have been superfluous to designate a term by the expression of the towns of Sordon and Soletz, if the cession were to be understood as extending beyond those places, even into the palatinate of Brezc, and to the source of the Notecz in lake Golpho.

Frederick's minister replied to these observations by a memorial, (73) in which he maintained that his court had a full right to occupy the countries of which it had taken possession. Similar observations were made to the two other courts, who returned answers of the same nature. Many other altercations of this kind afterwards took place, which all terminated in an involuntary submission to the absolute will of the three powers.

Another



Another event soon after menaced the repose of Germany, and again put arms into the hands of the two rival houses, between whom the peace of Hubertsbourg seemed to have at length established a good understanding.

On the 30th of December, 1777, Maximilian Joseph, elector and duke of Bavaria, died of the small pox, and with him the male line of his house became extinct. The Palatine house had long put in their claim to this succession on such an event, from their common descent from duke Louis the Severe, who died in 1294; and this claim, founded on the treaty of Pavia of 1329, had been confirmed by other treaties in the years 1766, 1771, and 1774.

At the time, however, of the treaty of Pavia, concluded by Louis of Bavaria with the counts Palatine of the Rhine, his brother's children, he only possessed Upper Bavaria. A collateral branch, issuing from a brother of his father, Louis the Severe, was then in possession of Lower Bavaria; and it was only in 1340, on the extinction of this collateral branch, that this country was united to Upper Bavaria; so that it could not be comprized in the treaty of Pavia. Since that time, in 1353, a new division took place between the sons of Louis of Bavaria, by which Lower Bavaria was again separated from the Upper; and a new branch of the Lower Bavarian house sprung up at Staubing. The house of Austria pretended, that this partition was absolute, (*todtheilung*,) and that the male posterity of this line being extinct by the death of John, son of Albert, the male paternal descendants

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in different lines of the house of Bavaria had, properly speaking, no right to this succession: that the only legitimate claimants must be, Albert of Austria, son of the sister of the last duke John; and the emperor Sigismund, who might consider this part of Bavaria as a lapsed fief: that in this quality he had given the investiture of it to his son-in-law, this same Albert of Austria: that, in spite of this, the Upper Bavarian branch had succeeded in possessing themselves of Lower Bavaria; but that the extinction of that line revived the rights of the house of Austria, and that the Palatine house could have no pretension to this succession.

It was impossible, with any foundation, to maintain that the partition of 1353 was absolute; for, in 1429, an Imperial sentence had decreed in favour of the male paternal descendants in different lines of the house of Bavaria, Albert of Austria had solemnly renounced his rights, and, in fact, the reigning house of Austria does not descend from this Albert.

Exclusive of all this, the court of Vienna pretended, that the countries which the house of Bavaria had received as a fief, whether of the empire, or of the crown of Bohemia, were now open and lapsed, and that, consequently, Joseph II. had a right to take possession of one part, in quality of emperor, and Maria-Theresa of the other, as queen of Bohemia.

Immediately after the death of the elector, Charles Theodore, elector Palatine, as the nearest a-kin, was proclaimed elector of Bavaria, and on the 2d of January repaired to Munich. But, the court of Vienna, which

which saw in this electorate an advantageous opportunity of rounding the Imperial dominions, prevailed on the new elector to acknowledge its pretensions, by a convention signed at Vienna on the 3d of the same month.

As Charles Theodore was already in possession of Bavaria, the court of Vienna had apprehended some opposition from that quarter, and the Imperial troops were already prepared to enter the electorate. The easy disposition of the elector Palatine rendered these measures useless; he suffered the emperor and empress to take possession of Bavaria, the first as emperor of Germany, the second as queen of Bohemia.

In the interim the duke of Deux Ponts, as the nearest male descendant of the elector Palatine, protested against any such treaty, entered into without his consent, and contrary to the rights of his house. At the same time the electoral house of Saxony put in a claim to the allodial succession, and demanded 47 millions of florins. This house pretended, that, the male line issuing from the emperor Louis being extinct, this allodial succession returned of right to the princess dowager of Saxony, sister of the deceased, or rather to the elector her son, to whom she had eventually transferred her claims. On the other hand, the duke of Mecklenbourg thought he had, at length, found a good opportunity to bring forward his pretension to a reversion of the landgravate of Leuchtenberg, granted to his house in 1502; a reversion, the execution of which had been eluded in 1647.

These



These three courts addressed the king of Prussia, requesting him to support their claims. Frederick, who would have seen with jealousy the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, and who found the road open to a new species of glory ; to the fame of appearing, in the eyes of Europe, the disinterested defender of the Germanic liberty and constitution; seized this opportunity with ardour. The elector of Brandenburg, who formerly had laughed at the ban of the empire, now pretended, that all the steps hitherto taken in this affair were contrary to the *security, liberty, and whole constitution of the Germanic body*, and that it should have been previously submitted to the diet, where the opinions of the electors ought to have been taken. He declared, therefore, in his quality of elector, and a contracting party in the peace of Westphalia, that he was determined to maintain the constitution of the empire.

After spirited, but fruitless negociations (74) between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, war broke out in July, 1778.

Prussia had assembled two armies ; one in Silesia, under the king ; the second, in the Marche, commanded by prince Henry. The latter was destined either to enter Bavaria, or to cover Saxony.

On the 6th of April, the king set out for Silesia, with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and fixed his head quarters at Schœnwalde.

During this time, the emperor continued his preparations and incursions in Bavaria, taking possession even of districts which could never be considered as

male fiefs of the empire, and were not included in the convention with the elector Palatine. He fortified Egra, to prevent the Prussians from entering Bavaria, and to have a place of arms on the frontiers of Saxony. Thirty thousand men, commanded by the prince of Lichtenstein, menaced that electorate, and this circumstance obliged the elector to collect all his troops near Dresden.

The king of Prussia's army remained, till June, cantoned near Silberberg, and on the 16th of that month, general Wunsch marched, with 20 battalions and 28 squadrons, to form a camp near Reinerz. The Austrian troops were cantoned, likewise, in Bohemia, and receiving daily reinforcements. In June, the emperor repaired to his army, fixed his head quarters at Sobotka, near Jung-Buntzlaw; and, soon after, duke Albert entered Moravia, and took quarters in the circle of Koenigsgrätz. The armies remained in this position, waiting the result of negotiations. They were broken off on the 24th of June, on the part of the court of Vienna. (75)

In the beginning of July, the king entered Bohemia; and, at the approach of his troops, the Austrian army quitted Buntzlaw and Koenigsgrätz, and took a camp on the right bank of the Elbe, near Kukus, a small town situated between Jaromirs and Koenigs-hoff. This army, commanded by Laschy and Had-dik, were 100,000 strong, and had no other intention but to cover the Elbe, and hinder the Prussians from passing that river. The two armies were only at a league's distance from each other. This proximity  
occasioned

occasioned several skirmishes, or rencounters, which almost always terminated in favour of the king of Prussia, whose cavalry never failed to prove themselves superior to those of the emperor. The latter ordered all the bridges to be broken, all the cattle to be transported to Kœnigsgrætz, and all the corn in the country to be cut down.

Laudohn, however, was sent, at the head of 100,000 men, against prince Henry, who was suspected of an intention to enter the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. Laudohn was deceived; the prince led his army into Saxony, formed a junction with 22,000 Saxons, and found himself at the head of 72,850 men.

Frederick was occupied near Jaromirs in observing the position of the enemy, and in seeking the opportunity of making an attack. On the 14th of July, count de Würmser, an Austrian general, fell upon the Prussian advanced posts near Nachod, and was repulsed. This circumstance induced the king to make some little change in the position of his camp, hoping, by these means, to engage the Austrians to make an alteration in theirs, and thus obtain the power of attacking them with advantage; but, the emperor, instead of changing his camp, only fortified it more and more, on the side on which he feared the Prussians might pass the river.

Frederick, seeing his expectations deceived, ordered prince Henry to enter Bohemia also with his army; to effect which he was under the necessity of passing through Lusatia, in order to approach as near as possible to the king's army, and the left wing of the Aus-



trians. The latter had foreseen this march, and disposed every thing to render it extremely difficult, if not impossible. The prince, more expert than them, amused himself with their efforts : he feigned to attempt his entry by another quarter, drew Laudohn thither, then suddenly took a new direction, made forced marches towards the frontiers of Lusatia, and penetrated into Bohemia on that side, in spite of the abbatis and other obstacles opposed to him. The Austrians, who got all their forces together, were not able to prevent this march, perhaps the most skilful that was ever performed. In its progress, there were but a few skirmishes, in which the Prussians suffered very little, but took from the enemy 29 officers and 1500 soldiers.

Laudohn, who wished to avoid a battle, retired into the heart of Bohemia, and prince Henry's army spread itself more and more every day over the circles of Leitmeritz and Buntzlaw, and took Leitmeritz, where there were considerable magazines.

Nothing remarkable, however, passed in the king's army before the month of August : he remained quiet in his camp, waiting the issue of prince Henry's marches.

Laudohn posted himself as advantageously against the attacks of prince Henry, as the army of Lasci had done against that of Frederick. It was impossible for the Prussians to attack. The king, at length, quitted his position in order to facilitate the junction of his army with that of prince Henry his brother, and remounted towards the sources of the Elbe. In this march, he  
was

was obliged to pass through several defiles, where it is astonishing that the Imperial army never attempted to molest him. We read in an Austrian journal of the day, "*that very important political reasons prevented them from undertaking any enterprize against the enemy on that occasion.*"

The Austrian army followed, on the right bank of the Elbe, the Prussian movements on the left, and encamped near Arnau, opposite the Prussian camp, always taking care to fortify themselves as well as in their former camp. The two armies were thus posted near Arnau; and the king, having in vain attempted to draw the Austrians out of their entrenchments, tried to pass the Elbe between Arnau and Hohenelb, that he might join prince Henry towards the Iser; but, the vigilance and pains of the Austrians rendered this attempt abortive. The king made a second effort higher up, yet, with as little success as the former. At length, wearied with harassing himself to no purpose in an impracticable country, where the enemy refused to come to blows, he resolved to retire, and wait the events of the following campaign.

Prince Henry, posted near Nimes, in Bohemia, continued to observe Laudohn's army, and waited to snatch a favourable moment to effect the desired junction. Finding his efforts vain on that side, he tried to draw Laudohn out of his entrenchments, to give him battle. The best method of effecting this, he conceived, would be by feigning to attack Prague. On the last of August, generals Platen and Moellendorf approached that city, the one on the left, the

other on the right side of the Elbe. The inhabitants were in consternation: all the young men were inrolled, the archives packed up, the public money secured; and Laudohn, so far from flying to their succour, seemed to intend leaving the town a prey to the enemy, and remained quiet in his entrenchments. The stratagem failing of success, the two Prussian corps were recalled.

The Prussian troops had now no other resource, but to avail themselves of the remainder of the season, to enable themselves to subsist at the expence of the enemy; they foraged in Bohemia, and laid several places under contribution. The Austrian generals did the same on the side of Saxony, which was defenceless.

At length, the king retreated by Altstadt towards Schatzlar. This retreat, in a mountainous country, intersected in all parts, in almost continual bad weather, and under the eyes of an army of near 200,000 men, is much admired by all military connoisseurs.

Frederick resolved to remain at Schatzlar until he should be informed of prince Henry's return, who had orders to retire into Saxony, with the design of directing his future enterprizes by the movements of the enemy; but, they continued to act with so timid a precaution, that it was evident they thought of nothing but how to avoid a battle.

Prince Henry had now got into winter quarters in Saxony, and Frederick thought of following the example in Silesia.

The Prussians had taken possession of the principalities of Jägerndorf and Troppau, belonging to the house



house of Austria, and the Austrians had formed the project of retaking them. With this view, they reinforced a body of their troops in Moravia, on the confines of Upper Silesia, which corps were to drive the Prussians from Troppau and Jägerndorf. At the end of September, 20 battalions were detached from Bohemia to the same place, and a considerable body of Croats advanced, likewise, towards Moravia. These preparations obliged the Prussians, also, to reinforce.

The hereditary prince was sent against Rotta, whom he forced to retire as far as Bær, in Moravia, and the greatest part of Upper Silesia returned into the hands of the Prussians. The Austrians still kept reinforcing, but confined themselves to foraging, and always avoided a decisive action.

At length, however, an Austrian corps under general Ellrichshausen did venture to advance into the environs of Troppau. On the 17th of October, two battalions of Croats attacked a Prussian guard, composed of a non-commissioned officer and sixteen horse; but these brave men defended themselves long enough to give time for six squadrons of hussars and Bosniacs to come to their assistance. Colonel de Spleni, of Esterhazi's regiment, attacked three squadrons of Prussians who were advancing towards him; but major Hulsen arriving in time to support them with his squadron, the Austrian detachment retreated, and were pursued as far as Jactar.

Another attempt was made by a detachment of the

Moravian army, in which the Austrians met with the same ill success. They revenged themselves by foraging and laying some places under contribution, the inhabitants of which they treated with great rigour.

Frederick, after providing for the safety of Lower Silesia, resolved to enter Upper Silesia, imagining that the Austrian army, which was greatly superior to his, would, at length, come to a decisive engagement. A corps commanded by Tavenzien marched from Schatzlar the 15th of October, and reached Neustadt the 19th. On the same day the king arrived at Neisse. The Austrian army in this country consisted of 50,000 men, and Frederick had no doubt of their attempting to defend their posts. He was deceived: the detachments retired as he advanced. Frederick, observing this circumstance, thought only of posting his army advantageously in the environs of Troppau and Jægerndorf, to secure it against every attack during the winter.

On the 23d of October, the Prussians learnt that the Austrian troops were advancing together towards Olberdorf. Major general de Thun, who was at Mockern, in the vicinity of Olberdorf, resolved to wait for them. In the night of the 26th, the Croats and hussars advanced amidst rain and darkness, and fell unexpectedly upon the Prussian advanced guards. Scarcely had the latter time to retreat, before the Austrians had already formed towards the village, and endeavoured by a very brisk fire to throw the Prussians into disorder; but, they defended themselves  
with

with so much courage and vivacity, that the enemy retreated, leaving several dead upon the spot. Rain and darkness prevented the pursuit.

In another skirmish the Austrians were driven from Oftrau, in Moravia.

On the 3d of November, the king went to Breslaw, after ordering the cantonments of his army. The chain began at Ratibor, and extended as far as Jägersndorf. Wunsch was with a corps in the county of Glatz; Ramin commanded another in the mountains of Lower Silesia; the head quarters were at Landshout, and this chain extended to Greiffenberg on the frontiers of Saxony, where prince Henry's army were cantoned.

The Austrians imitated the cantonments of the Prussians. Their line stretched from Egra along the frontiers of Saxony and Lusatia, then following the confines of Silesia and Glatz, by Bohemia, Moravia, and the principality of Teschen.

During the month of November, the Austrians made several attempts to retake Jägersndorf, but were always repulsed with loss. Both armies sent reinforcements thither.

The commencement of the ensuing year passed over with only trifling enterprizes, in which the advantage was not considerable on one side or the other. The Austrians, who always avoided a battle in this war, are reproached with amusing themselves in burning towns and villages. The town of Neustadt, where the regiment of the prince royal of Prussia, now the reigning sovereign, then lay, was reduced to ashes, and 250  
houses



houses were consumed by the flames. This prince displayed, upon that occasion, marks of the generosity which was one day to make him beloved upon the throne. On returning into the town after the conflagration, the inhabitants threw themselves on their knees before him in the streets, and painted to him their distress. The benevolent prince mingled his tears with those of the poor sufferers; distributed among them all the money he had at his disposal; and promised them to engage the king to repair their misfortune.

In the month of December, 1778, the empress of Russia, by a declaration which she then made, prepared the way for the peace which took place in May, 1779.

The empress declared, " That, matters being on the  
" point of coming to a decision by the fate of arms,  
" she could no longer consider the affairs of Germany  
" as simple differences to be accommodated by lenient  
" measures. That the situation as well as the power of  
" Germany rendered this country the seat of all the  
" political operations of Europe. That, in conse-  
" quence, it was matter of extreme import to all the  
" other powers, whether its constitution should be per-  
" manent or changed, whether the empire should en-  
" joy peace or be torn to pieces by war. That all  
" these considerations more especially interested a  
" country such as Russia, which, exclusive of her natu-  
" ral connections with other states, and the ties of  
" friendship by which she was bound to the greatest  
" part of the princes of the empire, owed still more  
" respect.

“ respect to the strict alliance that attached her to the  
 “ power which has seen itself compelled to take up  
 “ arms in opposition to the measures of the court of  
 “ Vienna. That, consequently, the empress can no  
 “ longer view with indifference the disputes which  
 “ have arisen respecting the Bavarian succession, but  
 “ thinks herself called upon to take a part in them.

“ That, without entering into a discussion of the  
 “ political rights of Germany, the empress took na-  
 “ tural equity for her guide, and the principles on  
 “ which all society is founded. That, on these prin-  
 “ ciples, she found the empire in commotion, only  
 “ because the house of Austria had thought proper to  
 “ revive claims extinct for several centuries, and for-  
 “ gotten in the peace of Westphalia ; which claims she  
 “ now wanted to assert, against that peace which forms  
 “ the basis and bulwark of the Germanic empire ;  
 “ and, by the mode of asserting them, to act in a  
 “ manner still more contrary to that solemn and sa-  
 “ cred peace. In short, that, by the war which was  
 “ to support this first step of the court of Vienna, the  
 “ whole Germanic body was exposed to the most im-  
 “ minent danger. That the downfall of this empire  
 “ would necessarily cause a violent convulsion in all  
 “ the states contiguous to Germany, a total derange-  
 “ ment of the order and equilibrium of Europe, and,  
 “ in the lapse of time, possibly, be productive of great  
 “ danger to the Russian empire. That every wise  
 “ and prudent sovereign should look forward and pre-  
 “ vent those evils ; and that the court of Russia  
 “ could adopt no other principles, or maxims, than  
 “ those

“ those adopted by that of Vienna on similar occasions.”

“ That, in consequence, the court of Russia requested the empress queen, and the emperor, to put an end to the subsisting troubles of Germany, conformably to the principles of equity and sentiments of humanity which were so inherent in them; and to enter into an amicable accommodation, according to the laws and constitution of the empire, with his Prussian majesty, and the other parties interested in the Bavarian succession. But that, on a contrary supposition, the empress of Russia declared, though with great regret, that she could not remain an unconcerned spectator of the war lighted up in Germany, whether on account of its object, or the circumstances with which it was connected, and the consequences to which it possibly might lead; but should find herself called upon seriously to pay attention to what she owed to her own empire, to the interest of the princes who had demanded her friendship and assistance, and, above all, to her obligations towards her allies.”

Previous to the arrival of this declaration at Vienna, that court had proposed, by her envoy at Petersburg, to accept the mediation of the courts of Russia and France. These two courts, giving their consent, as well as the king of Prussia, a congress was assembled at Teschen, and peace was signed, the 13th of May, 1779. (76) The main article grants to the house of Austria a slip of Bavaria; namely, the part situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz: all the rest



rest remains to Bavaria as before. The empress queen engages, in quality of queen of Bohemia, to give a fresh investiture of the fiefs depending on that crown to the Palatine house, and to address the emperor to procure for the same house the investiture of the fiefs holding of the empire.

The family treaties were confirmed at the same time, concluded between the houses Palatine of Deux Ponts in the years 1766, 1771, and 1774; and guarantied by the contracting and mediating powers, comprehending in them, by name, the house of Birkenfeld; provided that the said treaties did not either prove contrary to the peace of Westphalia, or introduce an alteration in those circumstances which might not have been changed by the present treaty.

The elector promised to pay the court of Dresden six millions of florins, as a satisfaction for the claim of that court.

As for the house of Mecklenbourg, the empress, jointly with the king of Prussia, engaged to employ their good offices with the emperor to obtain it an unlimited exemption from the right of appeal. (77) (*Privilegium de non appellando.*)

The king of Prussia piqued himself on his generosity in this treaty, and contented himself with deriving nothing from the war, but the glory of having laboured to maintain the constitution of the empire. He required no indemnification.

Russia and France guarantied this treaty, to which the emperor and empire were invited to accede, and, after some trifling difficulties, they consented.

The

The empress queen did not long survive the peace of Teschen ; and the emperor Joseph II. was no sooner in possession of the hereditary dominions of his house, than he ardently laboured to introduce such changes as he deemed the most likely to accomplish the consolidation of his authority and power.

Mean while, Frederick, placing a firm dependence on the treaty of Teschen, never imagined that there could again be a question of uniting Bavaria to the possessions of the house of Austria. What then was his astonishment, on learning that it was really in agitation to exchange Bavaria for the Austrian Low Countries, with the exception of Luxembourg and Namur, and to bestow on those countries the title of the kingdom of Burgundy ! It was known, that, in the month of January, 1785, the Russian envoy had proposed to the duke of Deux Ponts to give his consent to this exchange, and to declare himself categorically in eight days ; with this verbal addition, that, in case of refusal, the transaction would take place, even without his consent.

This circumstance appeared the more astonishing, as, in the negotiations for the peace of Teschen, it was expressly declared that such a rounding of the dominions of the house of Austria, whilst it greatly augmented her possessions, would entirely destroy the balance of power which had hitherto subsisted between the different states of the empire ; and the peace of Teschen, guarantied by Russia and France, seemed to have been concluded purposely to prevent, and put a final stop to, this rounding of her dominions. Frederick,

derick, therefore, considered this measure as an infraction of that peace.

It seemed no less surprising that such an exchange should be agreed on without the consent of the prince who had a right to the succession of Bavaria; and the singular manner in which the concession of the duke of Deux Ponts had been demanded, gave rise to various suspicions.

In these circumstances, Frederick saw no means so proper to frustrate this project, as to form a league with the most powerful princes of Germany, for the defence of the constitution of the empire. (78) The courts of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover, were the leading members of this confederation. In the end, the elector of Mayence, and several other princes of the empire, acceded to it. The object of this league is solely to maintain the constitution of the empire, and to defend it against any power whatsoever who may discover an inclination to attack it. This league, which announced nothing in fact but what the emperor might easily foresee, produced the effect of stopping him in his project. He renounced, or appeared to renounce it; and Frederick terminated his political career by this glorious operation.



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## THE LAST PERIOD.

PRIVATE AND LITERARY LIFE OF FREDERICK. HIS  
ILLNESS AND DEATH. HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE  
AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED.

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WE have seen Frederick, at the head of his armies, bidding defiance, with inferior forces, to the combined efforts of all Europe ; conquering a vast province by his activity and courage ; retaining it by the same means, aided by the inexhaustible resources of his genius ; and finally terminating with glory three perilous wars, during which he frequently approached the very precipice of destruction. We have observed him employing the leisure hours of peace in augmenting the great resources of defence, his army and his treasury ; in encouraging agriculture, population, and commerce, which mutually sustain each other ; and in rendering his subjects happy, knowing that on their welfare depends the happiness of the prince. We are now upon the point of viewing him, amidst the tranquillity of private life, ardently advancing in the career of the sciences and arts, and cultivating them equally with success ; thus adding the wreathes of Apollo to the triumphant laurels of Bellona. We shall perceive him discarding the idle pomp of kings, placing

placing out of sight the mask of grandeur, to enjoy the sweets of friendship, and of those social pleasures which can originate only from equality, and which fly at the approach of pride.

Frederick was endowed by Heaven with one of those souls of fire, which, unable to rest inactive, demands a continual aliment. To souls of this stamp has the world become indebted for great men of all denominations. Sequestered by an austere father from all the pleasures of his age, his activity took a different direction, and he sought his amusement in study. The constraint under which he lived, compressing the energy of his mind, only gave a fresh spring to the heroic virtues and extraordinary talents which he afterwards displayed. The contempt entertained by his father for letters, and the obstacles which he opposed against the studies of his son, did but serve to give him a higher relish for the charms of application, and inspire him with more zeal amidst his endeavours to accelerate his progress in the pursuit. Himself a victim to despotism, having seen the sword of arbitrary power suspended, for some moments, over his own head, and, at length, striking off that of his friend, he conceived an insurmountable horror against arbitrary sway, and, before he ascended the throne, he made preparations for the introduction of a system of government founded upon the principles of justice, mildness, and moderation.

Madame de Recoule, his governess, had familiarized him, at an early age, to the best works of the French poets, and he became an enthusiastic admirer

of the charms of harmony; these pure enjoyments once tasted, afforded him a resource in his afflictions, and their endearing frequency, at length, converted them into necessary pursuits. He cultivated poetry, eloquence, and music; he studied history, which unveiled to him the faults of sovereigns, and pointed out the genuine paths of glory; politics, which enlightened him respecting his real interests; and philosophy, which inspired him with a taste for all the virtues.

But why should we labour to paint Frederick? Let us adopt rather the portrait which he gives of himself in the Epistle to his Mind:

To future, candid readers of my rhyme,  
(Should it's duration pierce the shades of time,  
Or place thee in the fashionable world,)  
Reveal the bard whose active Muse unfurl'd  
Her flag on Helicon; sought pleasure's way,  
And, vacant hours to chear, attain'd the lay.

Tell that my cradle was beset with arms,  
Whilst, rear'd within the bosom of alarms,  
My nurseries (how stern a fire's commands!)  
Were camps; my play-mates military bands.  
Say that, in schools of greatest captains train'd,  
I, to the various arts of war attain'd.  
Nor more by Mars than by Minerva prest,  
The mild pursuits of peace have sooth'd my breast.  
Th' Athenian ray, with Spartan flame combin'd,  
Illum'd a polish'd and a dauntless mind.  
And, yet, not learned, but fair Learning's friend,  
I, to her lures, with cautious love, attend;  
A simple vot'ry, to her shrine repair;  
Nor, 'midst the croud of Mem'ry's daughters, dare,

All-ardor,



All-ardor, to the heights of fame aspire,  
 And strike, with their's, the emulating lyre.  
 Far more intent my humbler flights to bound,  
 Nor let my strains in lofty notes resound,  
 I, with some thought with justice to express,  
 And give to reas'ning prose a cadenc'd dress.

Say, I withstood affliction's ruthless show'r,  
 And, in the contest, soar'd above her pow'r;  
 Whilst, borne on royalty's resplendent wings,  
 I rose into the throne of Prussia's kings.

Affirm that the philosophy, which warm'd  
 My pliant soul, my life reform'd;  
 That, when the system of the gods I heard,  
 My harp to arts fastidious I preferr'd;  
 That, not an enemy to Zeno's schools,  
 Of Epicurus I esteem'd the rules,  
 Obey'd the laws which flow from nature's plan,  
 Mark'd where the monarch differs from the man,  
 Could, as a king, perhaps, severely reign,  
 Yet, oft, become a citizen humane.  
 Though at the same I could, with joy, have gaz'd,  
 Which crown'd Alcides, and on Cæsar blaz'd,  
 From choice, I wish'd no virtue to forsake,  
 But, Aristides my example make!

When wearied Fates no more the spindle tend,  
 But, clip the thread, and bid existence end;  
 Whilst Satire lifts a dastard arm, to turn  
 Her envious shaft against my fun'ral urn,  
 Then, say (despising all the wiles she tries,  
 Whether from rage or folly they arise,  
 Or from the dark and falsely-fland'ring heart,  
 Which aims at virtue's vulnerable part,)

'That ease still reign'd unmov'd within my breast,  
Though censure menac'd, and though praise caref'd :  
That to posterity I dare appeal !  
Their's is the right to judge, because they feel.

From a taste for letters, to an esteem for those who cultivate them, the transition is imperceptible. Frederick admired Voltaire, Maupertuis, s'Gravesande, Algarotti, and Rollin, as he admired Alexander, Charles XII. Gustavus Adolphus, the elector Frederick-William, and Peter the First. He glowed with the desire of imitating both the one and the other.

It is alledged, however, that in his youth he conceived that natural horror for war and combats which is to be surmounted only by the love of glory ; and his conduct on the first victory which he gained seems to corroborate this opinion ; but so far from tarnishing his fame, this fact, if well founded, does but render it more brilliant. It is difficult to become a hero and a great captain, even when the heart becomes impassioned with the love of war ; but to rise into the greatest warrior of his own, nay, possibly, of past ages, against his native disposition, was a glory reserved for Frederick the Second.

In the first moment when he became an eye-witness of the scenes of war, his sensible heart was shocked, and some of the earliest of his verses which have reached us were written on the campaign of 1734. If they cannot be mentioned as models of poetry ; at least, they are not destitute of ease, of philosophic sentiments,

timents, and of poetic fancy. It is thus that he exclaims against the prosecution of war :

Thou ! bitter curse ! which can of sense the mind disarm,  
Force frantic man to raise his sanguinary arm,  
And, unreluctant, quit the academic groves,  
For scenes where, Horror at his side, fell Murder roves !  
From choice, I wish'd no virtue to forsake,  
But, Aristides my example make.

That his taste was not, as yet, totally refined by his connection with Voltaire, and that he was still a stranger to that unity of sentiment and expression which constitute the charm of all good works, is evident from the following lines :

Throughout my office still to persevere,  
Nor let one act of cruelty appear,  
Proves that to Paphia's courts I could repair,  
And love's delights without their venom share.

About the same time, he composed an ode to honour, the last strophe of which appears dictated by the heart.

O ! Fame ! around whose shrine, with vows sincere,  
My pleasures and my passions, charm'd, appear :  
O ! Fame ! in whom with ardor I confide,  
My actions deign to brighten and to guide !  
'Tis thine, though Death conduct me to the grave,  
One spark from his remorseless grasp to save !  
Come ! seize it, as it glows within my heart !  
Point to the splendid goal ! and bid it start !  
With haste, to run thy vast career I fly !  
For thee ! alone, I *live* ! For thee ! would *die* !



It was in 1736 that he wrote, for the first time, to Voltaire. His letter was well calculated to seduce a philosopher, (79) and especially such a philosopher as Voltaire, who possessed scarcely less vanity than genius. The most unqualified flattery was lavished on the philosopher, who could not but return the compliment in the same sort of homage. Frederick, still doubtful of attaining the glory of a hero, wished to ensure himself, at least, the reputation of a man of letters, and no means appeared to him so likely to raise the notes in his favour from the hundred trumpets of Renown as the commendations of Voltaire. Frederick was then preparing his refutation of *The Prince of Machiavel*, and who more proper than Voltaire to give éclat to his literary outset? He imagined, that, by becoming the editor of Voltaire, the poet would not refuse to render him the same service. The *Henriad* was then printing in England, and Algarotti, with whom the prince royal was in correspondence, happening to be in London, he employed him to get the whole *Henriad* engraved in copper plate, and the edition completed with the utmost possible magnificence. He composed at the same time a preface, in which he styles Voltaire, *prince of the French poetry, a vast genius, a man of a sublime understanding*, &c. Unluckily for the edition, Frederick's father died, Algarotti quitted London, and Frederick, who soon found an opportunity of interweaving the laurels of victory with the crown he had received, forgot the *Henriad*, and flew into Silesia.

The preface, however, was completed, and the  
king's

king's intention appeared so flattering, as to draw after it the gratitude of Voltaire.

The king had finished his criticism on the Prince of Machiavel; and a book, which in our age did not merit a reply, was ably refuted by Frederick, who by this performance announced at least to Europe his intention of carrying with him to the throne justice, equity, moderation, and an inviolable observance of his word, and afforded the most flattering and most brilliant expectations from his reign. Frederick sent his manuscript to be corrected by Voltaire, and the philosopher, in his preface to the work, repaid the king for all the eulogiums which he had received from him in that of the *Henriad*. (80) Previous to the printing of this work, he had an interview with the king near Cleves, and said to him, in speaking of the *Anti-Machiavel*, "Sire, had I been Machiavel, and "could have obtained access to a young king, the first "thing I should have done would have been to advise "him to write against me." (81) He represented to him, nevertheless, that it might be as well not to publish the book precisely at a moment when he might be reproached with violating its precepts, alluding to his recent transaction with the bishop of Liege. Frederick seemed sensible of this objection, and suffered him to suspend the edition; but the bookseller requiring much money as a compensation to him for the proposed delay, and the king being, at heart, not sorry to appear in print, chose rather to indulge his wishes at free cost, than pay for leaving them ungratified. (82)

The Anti-Machiavel is not the only work in which Frederick wished to give the world a favourable idea of his heart and his intentions. His poetry breathes in every line the love of humanity and justice, and he perpetually proposes Titus and Marcus Aurelius for examples in peace, and the elector Frederick-William in time of war. (83)

The first words which he addressed to his ministers, in announcing the death of his father, were well worthy of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. "Our first care," he observed, "should be to promote the happiness of our dominions, and that of every one of our subjects. It is our will that you should not oppress them to enrich yourselves, but rather have before your eyes the prosperity of the country as well as our interest; for, these two objects are inseparable."

We know in what manner Frederick espoused the queen. (84) When he mounted the throne, some change was apprehended with respect to that princess. The day of Frederick-William's death, the court attended to congratulate Frederick II. and then passed into the queen's apartment, to pay the same compliment to her majesty, many of them fearing, however, that she would not long retain the title they were about to give her. The queen, who always loved Frederick, and never spoke of him but with the liveliest concern, received their compliments with the affability so natural to her character; yet, uneasiness lay hidden in her heart. How, therefore, was her anxiety augmented on seeing the doors suddenly thrown open, and the courtiers ranging themselves to make way for the



the king, who was entering her apartment! Not doubting that this unexpected visit announced her disgrace and the loss of her husband, she trembled at having so many witnesses of her misfortune. Scarcely did her confusion and weakness allow her to rise to receive the king, and she was obliged to lean on one of her ladies, whilst she advanced to meet him. She was uttering a few broken words, as an apology for her emotion, when Frederick, interrupting her, said, "Madam, the whole kingdom know in what manner " I accompanied you to the altar: You know yourself " how I have lived with you since that time:" [this beginning encreased the queen's uneasiness, and she was on the point of fainting away:] " you imagine, " perhaps, now that I am master of my actions, that " I shall renounce engagements I contracted against my " will, and which have been so ill complied with on " my part; but, know, Madam, that your patience, " your tenderness, your unalterable gentleness, and a " thousand other virtues with which you are endowed, " have long opened my eyes. Hitherto, something " in my character (call it what you please) has pre- " vented me from making this avowal; I wished to " delay it till the moment, when, in doing it, I might " convince the whole world that it was entirely free " and voluntary. This moment, Madam, is arrived, " and I invite you to share with me a throne of which " you are so worthy. Forget, I beseech you, every " past act of injustice; or, if you still retain any recol- " lection of them, let it only serve to augment the " glory of your triumph."

The

The queen dowager had no less reason to be satisfied with the tenderness and respect of Frederick: he bestowed on her the title of queen mother, and when she attempted to call him, Your Majesty, "*Call me always your son,*" answered Frederick; "*a title more precious to me than the royal dignity.*" (85)

Voltaire was watching the moment when his friend Frederick should be decorated with a crown, and was the first poet who congratulated him on his accession. (86) We have not the answer made to him by Frederick, but Voltaire replied by the well-known piece, commencing,

What! rais'd to empire! and, yet, love your friend!

In the first year of his reign, Frederick thought of restoring the academy of sciences of Berlin, founded by his grandfather Frederick I.

This society, which owes its origin to the vanity of that prince, rather than to his information, was founded in 1700. Its outset was not brilliant, nor could it be expected, considering the situation of Frederick I. It was then in agitation in Germany to reform the calendar; and this prince, who had already founded an academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture, in imitation of Louis XIV. erected likewise an academy of sciences to effectuate this reform. (87) The almanacks which they published were sold for the profit of the academy, and their produce, which amounted, in the first years, to 400 crowns, constituted the sole fund of this illustrious society.

As almanack-making is not the business of every day,

day, the academicians were charged also *with the propagation of the faith, and foreign missions*. "As it is certain and admitted," says Frederick I. in the fundatory diploma of the academy, "that sound ideas of God, religion, and worship, and the Christian virtues in general, cannot be better diffused, taught, and inculcated, as well throughout the Christian world, as among nations destitute of the light of the Gospel, than by men, who join to integrity of life, and innocence of manners, a profound knowledge of divine and human truths; our will is, and we enjoin our society, to labour, under our auspices, *in conveying and spreading the pure worship of the divinity among the most distant nations, and into those countries still enveloped in the darkness of the grossest ignorance.*"

Such was the society of which Leibnitz, the greatest philosopher of Germany, was made president.

The new academy, however, remained ten years without observatory, buildings, or even holding an assembly. Gottfried Kirch, who was sent for to Berlin from Guben, was the only academician who took any pains concerning it. He calculated, and published yearly, the state of the heavens; but not a member as yet thought of setting out to plant the faith among the Hurons or the Samoïedes.

At length, on the 19th of January, 1711, an observatory, a hall for assembling, a writing-table, and a chair to lean on, were granted them; a minister of state, named Printzen, pronounced a very singular (88) Latin discourse, the first ever delivered in that assembly,



bly, but which has been long followed by many others of the same nature, frequently proceeding from the mouths of personages not less important.

From this period the academy held regular meetings, and we see, in its history, that the members, instead of travelling to propagate the faith among the barbarous nations, employed themselves in encouraging the plantation of mulberry-trees in Brandenburg.

The death of Frederick I. observes the historian of the academy, operated as a thunder-stroke to the society. We have seen in what estimation Frederick-William held both sciences and scientific men. During his reign, eclipses were ill predicted, the plantations of mulberries were neglected, and Leibnitz, whose pension was ill paid, troubled himself very little with either the making of Christians or the nourishing of silk-worms.

Frederick-William, however, to whom proposals were submitted for establishing a school of anatomy at the academy, much approved of the idea, as good surgeons are necessary in an army; and, therefore, it was founded on the 15th of May, 1717.

Leibnitz dying in 1716, Frederick-William assented to the appointment of a successor, and the choice fell on James-Paul Gundling. But, this new president must not be confounded with his brother, a muchesteemed man of letters, who lived at Halle. The former was a sort of dignified fool, the butt of all the railleries of court and city, and one whom the king appeared diverted to bedaub with titles of every sort,  
for

for the purpose of rendering him still more ridiculous. He was a whimsical composition of pride and pedantry, of seriousness and jest, of gravity and buffoonery, of folly and vain boasting. The author from whom I borrow this account, represents him marching with his head thrown back, a haughty countenance, a look most laughably disdainful, large unmeaning eyes, projecting lips, and the stately step of a Spaniard. His dress perfectly corresponded with his person. Upon days of ceremony it consisted of a black velvet coat, with gold buttons and button-holes, scarlet facings from his sleeves up to his shoulders, a gold brocaded waistcoat hanging over his knees, red stockings with gold clocks, square-toed shoes with red heels, a huge white peruke in the Spanish fashion, falling on his haunches, on which was planted a little hat with white feathers. Such was the *worthy* successor of the great Leibnitz in the presidency of the academy of Berlin. With all these splendid qualities, the president was rather fond of the juice of the grape, and, as he often took more than he could carry, the small portion of good sense he had in his brain was frequently disturbed. This singular man died in 1732, and was buried with great ceremony in a barrel.

Nor did his death exhaust the ridicule which Frederick-William was determined to throw upon this poor academy; he chose another madman to replace him, whom he named vice-president. This was count Stein, whose letters patent we have laid before the reader in the first volume.

The

The academy of painting and sculpture was not in a much more brilliant situation. There were no longer any assemblies, nor did the members receive any pay. Pesne, the director, quitted historical paintings for portraits; cabinet makers set themselves up for sculptors, and common masons for architects.

It was with reason that Frederick II. thought of restoring such an academy. He formed the project of giving them a more commodious building; he asked for the list of pensions, struck out some ridiculous members, named others more decent in their places, and substituted, for count Stein, the celebrated Maupertuis, who possessed infinitely more knowledge, but not much less vanity than his two immediate predecessors. The philosopher was invited by a very gracious letter to repair to Berlin. Maupertuis, who marked every opportunity of playing a part with still more accuracy than he calculated the degrees of the equator, joyfully accepted Frederick's proposition, and set out from Paris for the capital of Prussia.

The Silesian war suspended, for some time, the projects of the king respecting his academy, and, in the interim, some inhabitants of Berlin formed a literary society, and obtained the king's permission to assemble in one of the apartments of the castle.

Algarotti, a learned Venetian, who in 1738 had published his Italian dialogues on light, colours, and attraction\*, came to Berlin with his brother in June,

\* *Dialoghi sopra la luce, i colori, e l'attrazione.*



1740. The king give them a favourable reception, and created them counts. It was at this period that (as we have already remarked) he recalled Wolf, and made him chancellor of the university of Halle, from which he had been driven by the terrible Frederick-William.

When Frederick went upon a journey into Cleves, Voltaire, who was then at Brussels, sent the king some verses by a wine-merchant, named *Honi*, who found him indisposed with a fever at Wesel. He answered the poet in the following stanzas:

Your lines, and passport in his hands,  
Proud of the precious charge he bears,  
And dignified by your commands,  
*Honi to Wesel, soon, repairs.*

Ah! priest of Bacchus! I exclaim'd:  
Commiserate my ling'ring pain!  
What wines can cure a heart inflam'd?  
I dare not drink when fevers reign.

"*Apollo, who compos'd these lays,*  
"*Of verse and physic is the god.*  
"*Observe, as on the lyre he plays,*  
"*Health comes, obedient to his nod!"*

(Thus *Honi* spoke). . . . Your *lines* I read:  
Again, I read: Joy fill'd my breast!  
'Twas transport, all! Pale sickness fled,  
And life, with *these*, my frame caress'd.

Pleasure and strength your Muse confers!  
Rais'd by your art, one single bound,  
Whilst prompt desire applies the spurs,  
Shall bring me upon Austrian ground.

Soon

Soon as the week shall glide away,  
 To Homer's rival I'll repair;  
 From the proud court rejoice to stray,  
 And pass my moments with *Voltaire*.

Fly! my precursor! *Honi!* fly!  
 And, still, thy new diploma hold!  
 Of thee while int'rest is the tie,  
 My arms a great man shall enfold.

Frederick soon after set out for Silesia, and, previous to his departure, spent three days in his palace with Voltaire. (89) The battle of Molwitz convinced the Austrians of the discipline, experience, and courage of the troops who were the objects of their attacks; and Frederick, some years after, celebrated in a poem his principal officers who fell in that engagement. (90)

The toils of war did not make him neglect the Muses; Frederick took with him into Silesia Maupertuis, and Du Han, his ancient preceptor. He corresponded with literary men, studied and made verses. He composed some poetry after the battle of Molwitz, and the capture of Neisse, which immediately followed that victory. These two pieces have not been published, but it appears from a letter written to him by Voltaire the 21st of December, that they were not destroyed. (91) Voltaire himself celebrated the affair of Molwitz. (92)

It is a singular circumstance, and difficult to explain, that Rollin, who had maintained a constant correspondence with Frederick in his retirement at Rheinsberg, should discontinue it in the very moment  
 when

when he was seated on the throne. Frederick wrote to him as to all other friends, to announce his accession, to which Rollin answered, "That as he respected his important occupations, and as the king had, now, no counsel to take but from his own honour, he should no longer enjoy that of writing to him."\* Perhaps the timid conscience of the good Rollin would not permit him to continue a correspondence with an heretical prince, and his confessor might have ordered him totally to drop it.

In 1741, Frederick addressed an epistle to Kayserling, under the name of Cæsarion, beginning with these verses :

Say ! can the babbling lines I write,  
Your still unwearied ear delight ?

This was the same Kayserling, on whose death he, afterwards, composed a poem, which, certainly, was not the best that has proceeded from his pen. The following lines are extracted as specimens of his endeavours to appear sentimental :

All's lost ! I, for a friend belov'd, but breathless, moan,  
And seem, without him, in this ample world, alone.  
Like quickly fleeting shades those halcyon days are run,  
When both our faithful hearts, cemented into one,  
Freely to each disclos'd it's pleasure and it's care,  
And scorn'd the taste of joys which either might not share.

\* See Life of Rollin, in the History of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres. Tome VII.



To these coequal was the claim;  
 Our thoughts and habits prov'd the same.  
 Participation chose the gen'rous bond to form.  
 Cold indifference ne'er try'd  
 The union to divide,  
 'Midst contention's angry storm.

Voltaire was not so scrupulous as Rollin, and seldom suffered a week to elapse without writing to his hero, or making some verses in his commendation. Upon the 23d of March, 1742, the king wrote to him, from his head quarters at Selowitz, a letter so filled with wit, that we flatter ourselves the reader will not be displeased at its insertion.

“ MY DEAR VOLTAIRE,

“ I am afraid to write to you; for, I have no  
 “ news, except of that kind which must either merit  
 “ your indifference, or excite your detestation. Were  
 “ I to tell you, for example, that the people of two  
 “ different countries in Germany have issued forth  
 “ from the depth of their dwellings to cut throats  
 “ with other nations of whose name even they were  
 “ ignorant, and whom they have gone in search of  
 “ into a very remote country; and for what reason?  
 “ Because their master has made a contract with ano-  
 “ ther prince, and they wish jointly to massacre a  
 “ third: in such a case, you would answer, that they  
 “ are fools, blockheads, and madmen, thus to make  
 “ themselves instruments of the caprice and barbarity  
 “ of their masters.

“ Should I add that we are preparing with infinite  
 “ pains

“pains to demolish a few walls erected at a vast ex-  
“pence; that we are reaping where we have not  
“sown, and are masters where no person is strong  
“enough to resist us; you would exclaim, “Ah!  
“barbarians, ah! robbers, inhuman as you are!  
“*The unjust*”, would you add, “*shall not inherit the*  
“*kingdom of heaven*, according to *St. Matthew, chap.*  
“*xii. verse 34.*”

“Being no stranger to what would prove your ob-  
“servations concerning these points, I shall not speak  
“of them, but content myself with informing you,  
“that a man of whom you have heard by the name  
“of the king of Prussia, learning that the states of  
“his ally were ruined by the queen of Hungary, has  
“flown to his succour; that he has joined his troops  
“with those of the king of Poland, to operate a di-  
“version in Lower Austria, in which he has so well  
“succeeded, that he shortly expects to attack the  
“principal forces of the queen of Hungary for the  
“service of his ally. Here is generosity! you will  
“say; here is heroism! Yet, dear Voltaire, this pic-  
“ture and the former are the same. It is the same  
“female first represented in her night-cap, stript of  
“all her borrowed charms, then making her appear-  
“ance with her paint, her false teeth, and her trin-  
“kets. In how many different lights do we look upon  
“similar objects! how varied are our judgments!  
“Men condemn in the evening what they approve  
“in the morning; the same sun which delights them  
“at his rising, fatigues them as he sets. Hence  
“those reputations established and obliterated, but

“ which still rise again; and we are senseless enough to  
 “ put ourselves in motion during our whole lives, for  
 “ this same bubble reputation. Is it possible that  
 “ mankind should not yet be undeceived respecting  
 “ this base coin, considering what a length of time has  
 “ elapsed since its discovery ?” &c.

When Voltaire received this letter he was ill, as his answer proves. (93) The battle of Chotusitz, where the king lost general Werdeck, and major Buddenbrock, one of his favourites, and where general de Rothenbourg was wounded, afforded him a fresh opportunity for exercising his Muse. He addressed an epistle to Stil, wherein he regrets the loss of these brave warriors.

Two days before this battle, Voltaire wrote an epistle to the king, (94) by which we see that Frederick had men and women dancers brought from Paris for his opera, and that Voltaire offered to procure him good actors of tragedy, not imagining, as he remarks in this letter, that Frederick would confine himself to Italian nonsense and French capers; but he was deceived. Frederick felt but a moderate passion for the French theatre, and his taste for music attached him, all his life, to that of Italy: his castrati and his women dancers were paid twice as well as his ministers of state, and, towards the last years of his life, while he discarded all the French comedians, whom he treated as wretched strollers, he continued to amuse himself at Potzdam with those detestable Italian farces, known by the name of *opera buffa*.

It will easily be supposed that the battle of Chotusitz



fitz did not fail to fire the poetic vein of Voltaire, and, on the 26th of May, 1752, he addressed to him, from Paris, the epistle beginning with these verses :

The Northern Solomon, like Alexander fir'd,  
Scars worlds by whom He was beloved, by whom admir'd.

The peace of Breslaw restoring Frederick to the leifures of private life, he thought seriously of meriting, still more and more, the praises lavished on him from all quarters in consequence of his taste for the arts and sciences. Cardinal Polignac died at Paris in November, 1741, and left behind him a valuable collection of antiques. From amongst these Louis XV. obtained the family of Diomede, consisting of nine beautiful marble statues, estimated at one million two hundred thousand livres. Frederick purchased the remainder, and transported them to Charlottenbourg. In the beginning of December, 1742, the first Italian opera was represented in his new hall, built under the inspection of Knobelsdorf.

It is astonishing that Frederick, who was far from being fond of useless expence, should have lavished 100,000 crowns a year to support the most tiresome spectacle in the world, and which was limited to six performances during the carnival. This theatre, where soldiers were mustered as for the parade, in its external appearance resembled a camp. Though the representations were given gratis, parties of officers and soldiers often drove back the very persons to whom the king had granted boxes. The pit was filled with soldiers and their wives, who, on those days, put on the

uniform of their husbands; and this soldiery, drunk with brandy, instead of listening to Graun's music, filled the boxes with such disgusting exhalations, that they rather resembled an intoxicated guard-house than departments in a theatre.

Voltaire, covered with glory by the success of his tragedy of *Merope*, made, at this time, a second journey to Berlin. Frederick had given him an invitation as one philosopher invites another, not imagining that he was a negotiator sent by the cabinet of Versailles to allure him into a breach of the peace which he had just signed, and to induce him again to march one hundred thousand men against the Hungarians and Imperialists. Voltaire, availing himself of his confidential access to the king, thus set about the negotiation, as he himself remarks:

“ Amidst entertainments, operas, and suppers, my  
“ secret negotiation was advancing; the king was  
“ pleased to permit me to talk to him concerning all  
“ points whatever, and in our discussions respecting the  
“ merits of the *Æneid*, of Virgil, and Livy, I often in-  
“ troduced questions relative to France and Austria.  
“ Sometimes the conversation took an animated turn;  
“ the king warmed, and told me that so long as our  
“ court continued knocking at every door to obtain  
“ peace, he certainly would not expose himself by  
“ drawing the sword in her defence. I sent him from  
“ my chamber to his apartment my reflections on a  
“ doubled sheet of paper. He replied to my pre-  
“ sumption on the opposite column. I still have the  
“ paper wherein I observed to him, Do you doubt  
“ whether

“whether the house of Austria will not, at the first opportunity, bring demands against you for the restitution of Silesia? The following was his answer on the margin:

“My friend! they’ll be receiv’d: *Biribi*,

“According to the mode of Barbari.”

“This negotiation, certainly of a novel species, terminated by a discourse into which he entered with me, during one of his moments of vivacity, and whilst he levelled his remarks against his uncle the king of England. The two kings by no means liked each other: Louis XV. observed, “*George is Frederick’s uncle; but George is not the uncle of the king of Prussia.*” At length the king said to me, “Let France declare war with England, and I march.” This being all I wanted, I returned instantly to the court of France, and rendered an account of my journey: I gave them the same hopes the king had afforded me at Berlin, and they were not deceived; for in the course of the spring following the king of Prussia entered into a new treaty with France, and advanced into Bohemia, while the Austrians were in Alsace.”

Voltaire returned to Paris in November. The Algarottis enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Frederick, which they shared with the marquis d’Argens, whose romantic adventures had brought him to Berlin at the commencement of the reign. D’Arget, and D’Arnaud, both Frenchmen, were secretaries to the king. General de Rothenbourg, Baron Goltz, and



some others, lived also with him on terms of familiarity.

Some time after, Voltaire sent the king his *Age of Louis XIV.* which produced him as flattering a letter as any which he had hitherto received from the monarch. (95)

In 1744, Frederick, at length, thought seriously of restoring the academy of Berlin, for which purpose he united with it the literary society formed at the beginning of his reign. Patents were read, the birth-day of the restorer was celebrated, curators and ordinary members were nominated, prizes proposed, and medals struck; Frederick himself wrote a pompous ode, wherein he flatters himself that the arts and sciences are upon the point of reigning at Berlin, comparing the academy to Olympus, and the academicians to the gods, and styles these illustrious academicians, *oracles, sages of whom the gods are jealous in their celestial court, agents of truth, in their areopagi, who enchain captive prejudices at their knees*; in a word, he represents them as men,

Th' eccentric sources of whose penetrating mind  
Explore whate'er is to the universe assign'd.

In the mean while, war was kindled, and the battles of Hohen-Friedberg, Soor, and Kesselsdorf, had crowned Frederick with fresh laurels. He entered Dresden as a conqueror, and took up his residence with the prince de Luwomirsky, and shewed every mark of politeness to the princess, whom he found with several other ladies. The conversation falling on  
the

the Saxon troops, and their generals, he spoke favourably of them, bestowing his commendations particularly on count Rutowsky, the prince's son-in-law. "But, I perceive, ladies," said he, "that, notwithstanding the pleasure you express at seeing me, you would be better satisfied if I were at a distance. My departure depends on the king of Poland. I am only come into Saxony to demand peace, instead of which I have been obliged to make war. I should be glad to see it finished, for I know that the fortune of arms is changeable, and am far from thinking mine will always be the same. The world will see, however, the difference between my troops and those of my enemies. I know, too, that if they had entered my states, every thing would have been put to fire and sword, whereas I have rigorously forbidden my foldiers to commit the slightest disorder." The countess de Watzdorf, a relation of count Rutowsky, attempting to take the part of the Saxon troops, "I am convinced," observed the king, interrupting her, "that this would not have happened in any place where count de Rutowsky was present; I know too well the nobleness and generosity of that general to suspect him of such actions; but, madam, could he have restrained the Uhlans, the Bosniacs, and, above all, the Austrian troops? Judge from the conduct of these troops in Bavaria, in Silesia, nay even in Saxony, which they are defending." The countess was at a loss for a reply. The excesses committed by the corps under count Grun, and by prince Charles's army, were too recent to be forgotten.

The

The difficulties of this war left Frederick little leisure to cultivate letters. Peace restored to him these moments. In 1745 and 1746, he suffered losses which went deeply to his heart; death robbed him of three men to whom he was exceedingly attached, Jordan, Kayserling, and Du Han, his ancient preceptor. He shed many tears for the loss of the latter, and himself composed the eulogium of Jordan, which is printed in the Memoirs of the academy.

In 1746, he went into Silesia, to confer benefits, not on the inn-keepers and quacks whom he met with on his road, but on cultivators, on manufacturers, on gentlemen who applied to farming, on citizens, on the people.

Between this period and 1756, Frederick composed the chief part of the works which are acknowledged to have come from his hand, and of those to be shortly given to the public. In 1746, he finished his Memoirs of Brandenburg, unquestionably his best prose production. It was at this period, too, that he wrote his *History of my own Time*, which is announced among his posthumous works. On this subject he expresses himself as follows, in a letter to Voltaire on the 22d of February, 1747 :

“ Your taste then is decidedly for history. Pursue,  
 “ since it must be so, this foreign impulse; I do not  
 “ oppose it. The work which employs me is neither  
 “ in the nature of memoirs nor commentaries; my  
 “ person has nothing to do with it. It is an idle pre-  
 “ sumption for any man to imagine himself so re-  
 “ markable a being as to interest the whole universe

“ in



" in the detail of every thing relative to his personal  
 " existence. I paint on a great scale the overthrow  
 " of Europe; I have employed myself in sketching  
 " the absurdities and contradictions to be observed in  
 " the conduct of those who govern it: I have given a  
 " summary of important negociations, of the most re-  
 " markable exploits of war; and have seasoned these  
 " recitals with reflections on the causes of the events  
 " in question, and on the different effects produced  
 " by the same cause operating at other times, or  
 " among different nations. The details of war which  
 " you disdain, are, doubtless, those long journals con-  
 " taining the tedious enumeration of minutiae, and you  
 " are in the right. On this subject, however, we must  
 " distinguish the materials from the unskilfulness of  
 " those who generally handle them. Were we to read  
 " a description of Paris, wherein the Author should  
 " amuse himself with giving us the exact dimension of  
 " all the houses of that immense city, not omitting the  
 " plan even of the vilest gambling house, we should  
 " condemn both the author and his book to ridicule,  
 " but never conclude from thence that Paris was an  
 " uninteresting city. I am of opinion, that great  
 " feats of war, written with conciseness and truth, de-  
 " veloping the reasons which have actuated a general  
 " in his decisions, and exposing, as it were, the soul of  
 " his operations; I believe, and I repeat it, that such  
 " memoirs must be highly instructive to those who  
 " follow the profession of arms. They resemble lessons  
 " given by an anatomist to sculptors, which teach them  
 " by what contractions the muscles of the human  
 " body

“ body move. All arts have precepts and examples:  
“ why should war, which defends the country, and  
“ saves nations from impending ruin, be exempt from  
“ them?

“ If you continue to write on these late wars, it be-  
“ comes me to yield to you the field of battle; and,  
“ indeed, my work is not intended for the public,”  
&c.

In writing history, Frederick acquired a taste for historians. He justly preferred the ancients to the moderns, and every year read over the most celebrated of the former. He employed himself likewise, about this time, in composing his poem on the art of war, as well as several little pieces of poetry printed in the collection of his works.

Frederick had, for some years, been building a sumptuous summer palace near Potzdam; this was finished in 1748, and he gave it the name of *Sans-Souci*. It was here the monarch repaired, far from the tumult of the court, attended by a few domestics, to pursue his taste for study and philosophy. It was here he composed the chief part of his poetry.

In proportion as the works of this philosophic monarch augmented, the more did he feel the want of a guide and counsellor; and who so proper as Voltaire to give the king's poetry a touch of that delicate varnish, without which the best imagined productions are contemned by every man of taste in France? He sent him, indeed, his verses to correct, begging that he would not spare him; but he felt at the same time, that a single hour's interview would prove more useful  
than

than twenty corrections by the post. Neither, indeed, was Frederick fond of sending all his verses to France exactly as he had composed them. He knew that the French approved of what excited laughter, and that poets were fond of boasting.

Voltaire, solicited by Frederick to reside with him, was justly afraid of losing his tranquillity and liberty in a court. He declined the visit at first from a pretext of the rigour of the climate of Berlin; but D'Argens, La Mettrie, and Algarotti, were charged by the king to remove that cause of apprehension. D'Argens, the king's secretary, joined to their letters a certificate in verse, accompanied with two melons gathered in the gardens of Potzdam in the month of June.

Voltaire's next objection turned on the inconstancy of kings, and Frederick wrote him a letter well calculated to tranquillize him. Still continuing, however, to plead the expence of the journey, Frederick ordered him sixteen thousand livres for that purpose. Still Voltaire was not decided; but entered into a kind of treaty for the situation of his niece, madam Denis, by whom he wished to be accompanied, when a little occurrence, that greatly wounded his self-love, determined him to accept the offer.

D'Arnaud had addressed an epistle to the king, to which Frederick answered in a few verses, (96) wherein Voltaire was compared to the setting, and D'Arnaud to the rising sun.

These epistles were sent to Thiriot, the king's literary correspondent at Paris, and when Voltaire received them he was in bed. "*The Aurora of D'Arnaud!*"

he



he exclaimed, starting up, undrest, and inflamed with anger; "*Voltaire in his decline!* Let Frederick mind " his reigning, and not take upon him to judge me. " I'll go; yes, I'll go, and teach this king that I am " not yet setting;" and, accordingly, he set out soon after, and arrived at Berlin in June, 1750.

Voltaire was received with all the enthusiasm inspired by esteem, tenderness, and equality. He was lodged in the apartment occupied formerly by marshal Saxe; all the officers of the king's household were at his disposal whenever he chose to eat in his apartments, as well as the carriages of the court when he wished to take an airing. D'Arget was ordered to neglect no circumstance whatsoever which might tend to make his life happy and agreeable. Voltaire, however, was still not without uneasiness, which Frederick laboured with ardour to remove. "How could I " ever," the king remarked, in one of his letters to Voltaire, "occasion the unhappiness of a man I esteem and love, and who sacrifices to me his country, and all which is dearest to humanity? I respect " you as my master in eloquence; I love you as a " virtuous friend. What slavery, what misfortune, " what change is there to apprehend in a country " where you are as much esteemed as in your own, " and with a friend who has a grateful heart? I respected the friendship which bound you to madame " du Chatelet; but, after her, I was one of your oldest friends. I promise you, that you shall be happy " here as long as I live."

Verbal protestations were still stronger; and, one day,

day, when alone with Voltaire, he took his hand to kiss it. A pretty woman could not have resisted, still less a poet. Frederick demanded of the king of France permission to retain Voltaire, which he obtained, and he was appointed chamberlain to this philosophic king, with a salary of twenty thousand livres.

Voltaire, then, is chamberlain, and corrector of the works of Frederick. He spent two hours regularly with him every day, revised all his productions, gave him a written account of all his erasures, which alone composed a system of rhetoric and poesy for that prince, by which his genius knew how to profit. (97)

A year thus glided on in the most pleasing intimacy; but clouds, as we shall now see, soon obscured the literary horizon of Berlin.

Every man acquainted with philosophers, men of letters, and pretty women, will readily believe that Voltaire's appearance at Berlin, and the favours heaped on him by Frederick, were not looked upon with the most favourable eye by the literati whom this prince encouraged at his court.

Maupertuis, who, as we all know, was extremely inflated with his knowledge, and was as implacable as Voltaire towards such as refused him the homage of admiration, had been formerly very intimate with the latter. (98) This union was in some measure interrupted by differences respecting a work of madame du Chatelet, on which Maupertuis had suffered some pleasantries to escape him. Voltaire's arrival at Berlin

lin awakened, too, the remains of an ancient rancour lurking in the breast of the president.

When the former was received at the French academy, he sent Maupertuis his discourse of reception, telling him that the count de Maurepas, then minister of state, had obliged him to suppress a passage, wherein M. de Maupertuis was compared to Plato repairing to the court of Dionysius. The philosopher's vanity was shocked, and the first object of his hatred was the minister. But, in the end, he pretended to have been informed that the poet had never thought of praising him; a want of attention which he could never pardon. On the contrary, he conceived against him, from that moment, the most violent hatred.

For some time, however, Maupertuis dissembled, waiting only for a favourable opportunity to give vent to his aversion, and in the interim he contented himself with secretly labouring to pave the way for the ruin of his enemy, for which purpose he entered into a combination with others amongst the French literati at Berlin. The wished-for opportunity soon presented itself for the destruction of Voltaire, and he did not neglect it.

The king of Prussia had just concluded a treaty with Augustus, elector of Saxony, in which it was stipulated, that his subjects, holders of bills of the *Steuer*, should be reimbursed without loss. By this clause he had taken care of the interest of his people. But Augustus was either so negligent or imprudent as not to have the amount of these bills estimated.

The *Steuer* was a bank established at Dresden, on which



which the elector of Saxony had circulated so many bills, that they were unable to acquit them, and which sold at half their value. The Prussians, taking advantage of the circumstances and condition of the treaty, purchased these bills at a low rate from the Dutch and other Germans, and got them paid without any deduction. (99)

During the jobbing of this paper, Voltaire employed a Jew, called Herscheld, to negociate bills of exchange for him to the amount of ten thousand crowns, for which sum the Jew gave him diamonds belonging to Chasot, a French officer, and favourite of the king, who had them from the duchess of Mecklenbourg, whose good graces he had, for some time, enjoyed. Voltaire, learning that the diamonds were not the property of the Jew, and that he was a man discredited on account of several knavish acts, sends for him from Leipzig, forbids him to negociate the bills, and writes to Paris to protest them. Herscheld demands two hundred crowns for his journey, which Voltaire pays him; but he wanted, besides, 500 crowns for pretended expences, and this Voltaire refused. The Jew, deceived in his expectations, refuses to take back the diamonds, and accuses Voltaire of having substituted a great number of small stones for large ones which he had received from him. The Jew was now loudly protected by Maupertuis and all the cabal of Frenchmen; and the Germans, who, in general, envy the French the very air they breathe in their country, on this occasion grew clamorous in their complaints. The literati of that nation, who do

not comprehend the poetry of Voltaire, and despise him for a few anachronisms of which he has been guilty, triumphed at this adventure, and laboured to aggravate the circumstances. In a word, Voltaire was on the point of passing for a knave. His enemies availed themselves of this affair likewise in another way: they assured the king that the Jew was an emissary of Voltaire employed in Saxony to negociate the bills of the *Steuer*; not forgetting to add that he circulated his jests against the king's verses, and diverted himself at the expence of his taste and occupations. This last stroke, which was not one of the least malicious, succeeded, and Voltaire received orders to shew himself no more at Potzdam. The king, fearing lest the judges should shew some partiality to his favourite, sent count de Rothembourg to the chancellor Cocceii, to inform him that he wholly abandoned this affair to justice. (100)

The process lasted several months, and Voltaire desired Maupertuis to recommend his cause to M. de Jarriges; but the president replied, *that he could not meddle in so scandalous an affair*. At length the truth prevailed, and the Jew lost his cause, in spite of all his protectors, to the great regret of the president of the academy and the German literati.

Notwithstanding so authentic a justification, the good Maupertuis and his friends did not cease to publish throughout all Europe, that Voltaire had stolen diamonds, and the Jew was spurred on to write to the king against him; but they were soon reduced to silence, the Jew being sentenced to imprisonment in the  
citadel

citadel of Magdebourg, for forging six bills of exchange, and other acts of roguery similar to that he had attempted to perpetrate in prejudice to Voltaire.

Though the poet was not ignorant of the secret intrigues of Maupertuis against him, yet the president still continued to see him as usual, when he was restored to favour. One day, when the men of letters were invited to eat, as they called it, the *king's roast*, the company waited for Maupertuis. On his arrival, Voltaire paid his compliments to him on the new work, entitled "Letters concerning Happiness," which he had just given to the public. "Your book, president," he observed, "has pleased me much, except in a few obscure passages, which we will talk over together."

"Obscurities!" answered Maupertuis, with a forbidding air; "there may possibly be some for you, sir!" Voltaire looks at him, places his hand upon his shoulder, and says, "I esteem you, president; you are a bold man, and wish for war."

From this moment Voltaire circulated many manuscript satires on Maupertuis, some of which were printed. At length the geometrician conceived and executed the strange design of publishing letters full of reveries, in which he proposed digging a hole to the centre of the earth; to cure disorders by enveloping the sick in pitch wrappers; to establish a city entirely Latin; and other extravagancies of the same nature. A glorious opportunity for Voltaire! And can he be blamed for laughing a little at the expence of a man who aimed at nothing less than his ruin?



Frederick wrote against the work of Maupertuis, turning it into ridicule, and sent his manuscript to Voltaire. The poet thought he might amuse himself with a work against which the king had thrown out his jests, and wrote his *Akakia*. This satire he shewed the king, who joined heartily in the laugh with him, and the more so, as he saw that Voltaire had employed several of his ideas. Nothing was so natural, then, as to think of printing it, and he fulfilled his intentions. But an officer, who was at this time printing a work on fortifications, discovered, at his printer's, several sheets of *Akakia*, and acquainted Maupertuis with the circumstance. The president complained to the king, who sent for all the copies; then ordering Voltaire to appear, he said, pointing to them, "How could you think of writing so disobliging a work against a man with whom you every day eat at my table, and ought, from your situation, to live on good terms with? I am persuaded you now perceive how blameable your vivacity has been. As for myself, though you have been wanting to me on this occasion, I entirely forget the affair, and wish to take a part in it only to reconcile you with Maupertuis. Give me your word that the work shall not be printed elsewhere." Voltaire seemed touched with this discourse, and promised that *Akakia* never should appear. Three weeks after, *Akakia* appeared. The king, who had unfortunately begun to intermeddle in this literary quarrel, when he should have suffered the two champions to fight it out, was piqued against Voltaire, burnt with his own hands

hands the copy that was shewn him, and next day directed that the remainder receive the same fate from those of the common hangman. Voltaire, piqued in his turn at Frederick's interference in quarrels of literature, composed a bitter epigram on the two *burnings*, and, in coming out of the king's antichamber, ordered his servant to take off his cross of merit, and his chamberlain's key, saying, *Free me, friend, from these shameful badges of servitude*; then, suspending them both on the key of the king's apartment, he retired to Berlin, execrating those literati who imagine that they can govern their own peculiar empire as they would discipline a regiment.

The abbé de Prades (101) was sent after Voltaire to Berlin, to enjoin him, on the part of the king, immediately to write a letter of apology to Maupertuis, apprizing him that he had orders to carry back his answer, word for word. Voltaire set him at defiance in a reply so obscene that decency will not suffer us to give it an insertion. "What!" says the abbé, "is this the answer I must deliver to his majesty?" "Yes," rejoined Voltaire, "*and add that I sent you with it.*"

The abbé returns to Potzdam, enters the king's apartment trembling. Frederick demands the answer. The abbé hesitates; but, on the king's insisting, makes a shift at length to stammer it out. The king laughed exceedingly; obliged him several times to repeat the answer, and as often redoubled his fits of laughter. This stroke characterizes Frederick. An ordinary monarch would have discovered, in this

answer, an insolence worthy of the severest punishment. Frederick viewed it in no other light than as the ridiculous explosion of an angry man who could do nothing against another who had every thing in his power; and, in truth, it was no more. Instead of punishing him, he returned him the cross and key, and recalled him to Potzdam.

Voltaire returns, enters the chamber with *Akakia* in his hand, and throws it into the fire. "There, fire," says he, "are the remains of that unlucky book which 'has made me lose you friendship.'" The king instantly tries to save *Akakia* from the flames, while Voltaire, with one hand opposing the efforts of the king, with the other pushes the pamphlet with the tongs into the flames. Frederick, after some struggling, in which he burnt his ruffles, got the better; *Akakia* is saved, and the two actors in this farce conclude it with a laugh, a mutual embrace, and a supper.

Two other circumstances wherein Voltaire and Maupertuis were immediately concerned, occasioned fresh bickerings, and more and more disgusted Frederick with the society of wits and philosophers.

La Beaumelle, returning from Copenhagen, went to Berlin, in hopes of being engaged in the king's service. He addressed himself to Voltaire, and had the indiscretion to desire him to present a small pamphlet of his to Frederick, entitled *Mes Pensées*, containing the following passages:

"Voltaire is not the greatest poet, but he is the best rewarded."

"The



“The king of Prussia is surrounded with wits, as  
“the German princes keep monkies in their pala-  
“ces.”

Even if Voltaire had not recollected all the vexations which he suffered from the French, the former passage would have been sufficient to cool his zeal for Monsieur La Beaumelle, and the latter to prevent him from presenting his work to the king. Accordingly, he took no steps on this occasion, although any other man would, in his situation, have manifested less indifference. Maupertuis, who kept a watchful eye on every thing that passed, seized this moment to let loose this new Frenchman, whom he knew to be of a vindictive and passionate character, against his enemy; and chance favoured his design. At one of the king's suppers, when universal mirth prevailed, Voltaire said, in a whisper to the Marquis D'Argens, who sat near him, “*Brother, moderate your gaiety; an author has just compared us to monkies.*” The marquis laughed at the idea, which the king perceiving, wanted to know what Voltaire had said. The marquis answered that it was a little pleasantry not worth repeating. The king insisted upon a more explicit reply, and Voltaire was obliged to quote La Beaumelle. Frederick was extremely dissatisfied with the jest.

The next day, Maupertuis framed a story out of this adventure, and represented Voltaire to La Beaumelle as a man who wished to ruin him with the king. Hence all that war of invectives between them, which we might overlook in such a man as La Beaumelle, but to which Voltaire never should have replied.

The other difference originated as follows : Maupertuis, jealous of sharing with other academicians the honour of measuring the earth, and determined at all events to publish something new, thought proper to advance, as a discovery, *that motion in matter is produced by the least possible quantity of action* ; a principle which he clothed in all the scientific pomp of calculation, and called the law of the *Minimum*. All the ancient philosophers had maintained the same idea in different terms, by contending that there was nothing unserviceable in nature, who never made use of superfluity ; whence it necessarily followed, that, in the general law of motion, no more is employed than what is necessary to that law. Fontenelle remarks, that nature acts with the greatest œconomy ; father Mallebranche observes, that God always employs the most simple ways and means. Maupertuis was pluming himself on the glory of this discovery, revived from the Greeks, when Kœnig, librarian to the princess of Orange at the Hague, a friend of Maupertuis, came to Berlin, and communicated to him his intention of publishing some letters of Leibnitz, in which the idea of the *Minimum* was amply treated. Kœnig, perceiving that Maupertuis was displeased with his project, upon the day following wrote him a letter, inclosed the manuscript in question, and intreated him to burn it, if he thought proper, protesting that nothing was farther from his intention than to do any thing disagreeable to him. Maupertuis, assuming a tone of loftiness and contempt, returned him the manuscript, and broke off acquaintance with Kœnig, who

who then published the letters of Leibnitz. Maupertuis, enraged, summons Kœnig before the tribunal of the academy, and challenges him to produce the originals of Leibnitz. Kœnig replies, that he had always declared he had no other than copies of the letters, which were communicated to him by one of the principal citizens of Amsterdam, whose certificate he produced. Maupertuis persists, and assembles some of those men (102) with whom Frederick has too often filled his academy, and, erecting himself into a judge in his own cause, he presides at a meeting where these letters were declared not to have been written by Leibnitz, and Kœnig was stigmatized as a forger who had fabricated them to injure the president, and, as such, his name was erased from the list of academicians.

Maupertuis had gained the king in this affair, by insinuating that Kœnig was his enemy, and had spoken very ill of his majesty's prose and poetry to the princess of Orange. This was always a heinous offence in the eyes of the royal poet, and he took a part in this unlucky quarrel, which covered the academy with a disgrace which they have never been able to surmount.

Voltaire, who was a friend of Kœnig, and had no reason, certainly, to espouse the cause of Maupertuis, publishes a little *façtum* in defence of the librarian. The president's vanity is shocked; he keeps his bed; his chagrin, he says, is the cause of his illness, and Frederick is on the point of losing the president of his academy. Frederick, who was no geometrician, and  
 wanted



wanted to be a poet and historian, blames Voltaire, and comes to Berlin to visit and console the sick man.

This circumstance occasioned all the literati amongst the courtiers to arrange themselves on the side of Maupertuis, and Voltaire is neglected. As for him, he laughed at it, and makes the public laugh by publishing his *Monument of the Sorbonne*, in which he with much humour shuts up the poor president. This pleasantry, however, threw Maupertuis into a real illness, instead of that which he had feigned, like children to obtain sweetmeats, and Frederick came to pay a second visit to the poor sufferer, and ordered the work to be burnt. Yet this very Frederick had *actually* read the work before the impression came out, and even added some scraps in his own hand! Kœnig, who did more honour to the academy, than the academy could possibly reflect on him, had anticipated their decision, by sending back, with contempt, his diploma to a society which so little merited to possess him as a member.

Frederick became weary of all these bickerings; the literati, who saw that the king greatly influenced the poet, lost insensibly that confidence which had rendered them amiable; and Frederick, finding that he could not take the lead of them at his fancy, became disgusted with the whole assembly. D'Arget, who was a sensible man, prudently retired from a theatre, the actors of which furnished matter of laughter to all Europe; Algarotti did the same; and D'Arnaud, who had reasons for not espousing either of the parties

ties, was dismissed as a simpleton ignorant of a court life, and eventually proved that he was reserved for a better fate.

Voltaire had long been fatigued with these quarrels. Rich as he was, and enjoying the most brilliant literary reputation, what need had he of a king? He wanted nothing but repose. The *Akakia* had been reprinted in Holland, and Frederick, imputing this to Voltaire, recommenced his coolness. Voltaire demands permission to retire; Frederick, piqued, consents, demanding the chamberlain's key, the cross of merit, and the contract he had made with him, all of which Voltaire returned with the following verses:

These, which with tenderness I once receiv'd,  
Return'd, become the signs of love aggrieved:  
And thus the swain, in jealous rage, restores  
The portrait of the nymph whom he adores.

He did not wish to quit the king in disgrace, and set some value on these magnificent baubles, of which he had no need, and which he ought never to have received. Frederick, softened by these pleasing lines, sent him back the key and cross so often given and returned, and Voltaire spoke no more of his retreat. Three months after, he asked permission to go to the waters of Plombières, and Frederick consented to the journey. But, scarcely was Voltaire out of the Prussian states, before an epigram was circulated in Berlin against the king, which Voltaire's enemies attributed to him; and, some time after, a satire appeared in Saxony,

Saxony, entitled *The Private Life of Frederick II.\** and this also the literati at Berlin and Potsdam declared to be the work of Voltaire.

The king, who suspected that the expedition to Plombières was only a pretext of Voltaire to quit

\* As a proof how much Frederick was hurt at the publication of *his Private Life*, Mr. Laurent, a very honest and esteemed bookseller of Paris, gave me the following anecdote. When this work first made its appearance at Paris, strict orders were sent by government to the police to suppress the sale; but, like all other works of the same nature, it was furnished by the booksellers to customers with whom they were acquainted. Mr. Laurent, after repeated applications from a person who had all the exterior of a man of distinction, at length agreed to furnish him with a copy; but no sooner did the purchaser receive it, than he loaded the bookseller with the most virulent reproaches, and instantly complained to the lieutenant of police. Laurent, summoned before Mr. Le Noir, soon found that the person to whom the book had been sold was no other than Baron Goltz, the Prussian envoy. The magistrate, with great austerity, demanded if he was really guilty of exposing a book to sale so highly reflecting on his Prussian majesty, and which, on the representations of his minister, had been so strictly prohibited? Laurent, a man of integrity, firmness, and good sense, replied without hesitation, avowed the sale, and quoted to Mr. Le Noir some of his particular acquaintance, to whom he had likewise furnished it; adding, "I certainly am to blame, at least, in this instance; for I trusted wholly to the appearance of the informer, whom I took to be a gentleman, never dreaming that Monseigneur" (the title of the lieutenant de police) "had the honour of ranking ambassador among his spies." M. Le Noir, a liberal man, could scarcely refrain from laughing at this blunt speech of the bookseller, and, instead of punishing, has, from that moment, become the patron and employer of the worthy Laurent.

TRANSLATOR.

him,



him, occasioned him to be arrested at Frankfort, for the purpose of again recovering this key and cross, and his *poetical works*, as they were termed by Freytag, his agent at Frankfort. The favourite of Frederick, and his niece, who came to meet him at that town with a passport from the king of France, were detained a month at the *bôtel du Bouc*, by an order from the royal friend. A guard of twelve soldiers watched them, and stood centry day and night at the gate, for the purpose of obtaining the key, the cross, and the *poetry*, which were sent for to Leipzig. At length, Voltaire was set at liberty, after restoring these fine things, and escaped with paying all expences.

Voltaire, on his return to France, wrote the *Memoirs to serve as his own Life*, in which Frederick is not spared. The treatment which he received at Frankfort makes such a sally pardonable; but, after this, should he have been reconciled to the king of Prussia, should he have received his verses and corrected them, or, in that case, ought he not at least to have destroyed this monument of vengeance, so opposite to his conduct? Frederick even invited him again, at a subsequent period, to return to Berlin; but he was cured of the vanity of living familiarly with royal poets. (103)

From this period, Frederick avoided living with men of letters of distinguished merit, and preferred persons of modest worth, amongst whom he might take the lead. The marquis D'Argens, who had no fortune, was obliged to remain, and those whom he afterwards selected, existing only by his favour, endeavoured

deavoured to preserve it as long as possible. In the last years of his life, a certain abbé, Duval Pirau, and two Italian adventurers, whose names are unknown in the republic of letters, occupied the station of the Voltaires, the Maupertuis, the Algarottis, the Arnauds, and the Argens; and a petty scholar of a French college was his reader.

Voltaire has given us the following picture of the king's private life at the time he lived with him: "He rose at five in the morning in summer, and at "fix in winter. If you wish to know the cere- "monies of this royal rising, what were the great "and what the smaller privileges of entering his "chamber, the functions of his great chaplain, his "great chamberlain, the first gentleman of his bed- "chamber, his chief officer, &c. I will answer you, "that a laquey came to light his fire, dress and shave "him, and indeed he almost wholly dressed himself. "His room was not inelegant. A rich balustrade of "silver, ornamented with little Cupids tolerably well "carved, seemed to enclose an alcove bed, the cur- "tains of which were visible, but behind them, instead "of a bed, there was a library: the king slept on "a truckle bed with a slight mattress, concealed be- "hind a screen. Marcus Aurelius and Julian, those "apostles of Stoicism, did not sleep in a more homely "manner.

"At seven his prime minister arrived with a great "bundle of papers under his arm. This prime mi- "nister was a clerk who lodged in the second floor of "a house at Frederisdorf, from a soldier become valet  
" de

"de chambre and favourite, and had formerly served  
 "the king when in the castle of Custring. The secre-  
 "taries of state sent all their dispatches to the king's  
 "clerk, who brought an extract of them, to which  
 "the king wrote his answers, in two words, on the  
 "margin; and the affairs of the whole kingdom were  
 "thus expedited in an hour. (104) Rarely did the se-  
 "cretaries of state, or ministers on duty, approach  
 "him; there are some even who never spoke to him.  
 "The king his father had established such order in  
 "the finances, every thing was executed in so mili-  
 "tary a way, and obedience was so implicit, that four  
 "hundred leagues of country were governed like an  
 "abbey.

"Towards eleven the king put on his boots, re-  
 "viewed his regiment of guards in his garden, and  
 "at the same hour the respective colonels were fol-  
 "lowing his example in all the provinces. (105)  
 "The princes his brothers, the general officers, and  
 "one or two chamberlains, dined at his table, (106)  
 "which was as good as it could be in a country  
 "where there is neither game, tolerable butcher's  
 "meat, nor a pullet, and where the very wheat is  
 "brought from Magdebourg. After the repast, he  
 "retired alone into his cabinet, and made verses till  
 "five or six o'clock. (107) Then came a young man  
 "named D'Arget, formerly secretary to Valory, the  
 "French envoy, who read to him. (108) A little  
 "concert began at seven, in which the king played  
 "the flute with as much skill as the first performer,  
 "and pieces were frequently executed of his com-  
 "position;



“ position ; for, there was no art which he did not  
“ cultivate, nor could he have experienced the mor-  
“ tification among the Greeks, like Epaminondas, of  
“ acknowledging that he did not understand mu-  
“ sic.” (109)

“ Supper was served in a little hall, the singular  
“ and striking ornament of which was a picture, the  
“ design of which he had given to Pesne, his painter,  
“ one of our best colourists. It was a fine figure of  
“ Priapus. . . . .

“ These repasts were not in general less philosophic  
“ on that account. . . . . Never did men con-  
“ verse in any part of the world with so much liberty  
“ respecting all the superstitions of mankind, and never  
“ were they treated with more pleasantry and con-  
“ tempt. God was respected ; but none of those  
“ who had deceived men in his name were spared.  
“ Neither women nor priests ever entered the palace.  
“ In a word, Frederick lived without a court, without  
“ counsel, and without religious worship.”

It was during Voltaire's residence at Berlin that Frederick fixed upon a priest for the object of his pleasantry. This priest, who was a village curate near Stettin, had dared, in a sermon on Herod, to introduce some allusions against Frederick. The king sent for him to Potzdam, summoning him under the borrowed name of a priest to attend a consistory. The poor man was conducted there by persons employed for the purpose. The king put on a preacher's gown and band, and the marquis D'Argens, and Baron Poelnitz, who had three or four times changed their

their religion, wore a similar dress; a volume of Bayle's dictionary was laid on the table, to represent the Gospel, and the criminal was introduced by two grenadiers to these three ministers of the Lord. "Brother," says the king, "I ask you, in the name of God, on what Herod did you preach?" "On Herod who killed all the little children," replies the good man. "I ask you, whether it was Herod the First of that name; for, you must know that there were several." The village parson was at a loss for an answer. "What!" says the king, "you presume to preach on Herod, without knowing any thing of his family! You are unworthy of the holy ministry: we pardon you, however, for this time; but know that we will excommunicate you, if ever you preach again against any person concerning whom you are ignorant." His sentence and pardon were then delivered to him, signed by three ridiculous names which they had invented. "We are going to Berlin to-morrow," adds the king; "we will speak in your favour to our brethren; don't fail to come there and talk to us." The priest, repairing to Berlin to seek for the three clergymen, exposed himself to much laughter, but escaped with this pleasantry and the expences of his journey.

Some time after the departure of Voltaire, Maupertuis went to France to recover his health, and dissipate his chagrin; after which he retired to Basle, in Switzerland, where he died in the arms of two monks. The philosophic suppers were now entirely at an end at Potsdam, and Frederick, tired of turning super-

stitutions into ridicule, amused himself with laughing at those literati who still remained with him. A certain baron Pœlnitz, a poor idiot, whom he had made member of his academy, was the continual butt of all his railleries. "*When will you change your religion for the fourth time?*" said he. "*My dear Pœlnitz,*" said he on another occasion, "*I have forgotten the name of the man you robbed at the Hague by selling him false silver for silver without alloy; be so good as to assist my memory.*" (110) Much in the same manner did he treat the marquis d'Argens, who suffered every thing, provided that he could obtain his pension.

We tire, however, in the end, with laughing at persons who have neither the wit nor the resolution to reply: Frederick was often sensible of this, and exclaimed one day in yawning, "*Shall we have no more quarrels, then?*"

The war which broke out in 1756, awakened him out of this state of repose, so little fitted to an active mind like his; and he carried on, as we have seen, the most glorious war the world ever witnessed, since it is decided that there is glory in making war.

In the course of this war he wrote several familiar letters, such as few kings can write, to the countess de Camas, grand mistress of the court of the queen dowager. He had a great esteem for that lady, whose reputation of virtue stood very high, and who was some years older than himself. These letters are striking proofs that Frederick esteemed the pleasures of friendship, and knew how to lay majesty aside to procure them. (111)

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In 1760, when in winter quarters at Leipzig, he availed himself of these leisure moments to converse with the German literati of that celebrated town, which, with respect to letters, is the Paris of Germany. He particularly saw Gottsched, Gellert, and Winkler. The first is deemed the creator of the modern German, and has made his countrymen feel that their language is susceptible of improvement, but he did not please Frederick. This prince testified much more esteem for Gellert, whose fables have been translated into almost every language, but whose merit the French, who possess *la Fontaine*, never would acknowledge. (112)

After the peace of Hubertsbourg, the king went to Morizbourg, where he gave an amicable reception to the elector and electress of Saxony. This journey is remarkable in the private life of Frederick. It has been a thousand times said in print that he did not like magnificence, and never quitted his boots nor the uniform of his guards. But it is from this period only that we must date the king's usage in that respect, this being, in fact, the last time he ever wore a coloured coat, or shoes. From the commencement of his reign to this moment, he was accustomed to give feasts and carousals, where he always appeared in a brocaded suit with diamond buttons, eat out of gold plate worth six or seven millions of livres, and neglected nothing at that time to give all the splendor of magnificence to his court. The seven years war made him feel, doubtless, that

the nerves of a state are money, and especially such a state as his, and he began to augment his treasure, and extend that rigid œconomy to every branch of government, an attention to which has been considered by many persons as avarice, but at bottom was no more than an œconomy indispensable from the situation in which he stood. From this moment, then, he always wore a blue coat, and, on days of high ceremony, a uniform of embroidered velvet.

About this time his body began to bend, and his head to incline to the right side, arising, probably, from the fatigues of war. His constitution was but feeble, but he had formed a robust temperament by dint of activity and labour. He was of the middle size. He had large blue eyes, and a piercing look. He spoke German in a very rough manner, and incorrectly, but was perfect master of the French, and then his voice was mild and agreeable. On approaching him for the first time, if the idea of so great a man threw the person introduced into some confusion, in the very moment that he spoke, the former could not avoid finding himself at ease. He had the art of relieving all from their embarrassment; and it appears probable, that, previous to an interview with any celebrated man, he prepared what he had to say to him. He spoke of war with the military; of verses, with the poet; of agriculture, with the farmer; of jurisprudence, with the lawyer; of commerce, with the merchant; of politics, with the Englishman. If ever he talked to a shoemaker, a circumstance by no means

extra-

extraordinary, his conversation turned, doubtless, on the quality of leather, and the best manner of making shoes.

He was fond of asking questions, of communicating information, and above all of jesting. (113) The women were often the subject of his raillery, and he took a delight in throwing out satires against them, much in the style of Boileau and of Juvenal. His married courtiers had to expect frequent pleasantries respecting the talents of their wives; and when poor count S—, who had certainly the most virtuous wife in Berlin, became angry at these sarcasms, the king was highly amused, and redoubled the attack. He often asked women after their natural children; and talked of their victories to princes who never saw the firing of a musquet.

He had no opinion of physicians, and liked to act the part of a doctor himself. If he talked with any one labouring under a disorder, he never failed to prescribe a regimen and remedies. He sent pills to Voltaire, and all sorts of powders and other drugs to the princess Amelia his sister, and other persons whom he esteemed.

His mode of receiving four physicians for whom he sent in 1785, to replace his own who was just dead, has been considered as rather severe. After asking them their names, he said to one, "*Your father was a priest;*" to a second, "*Your father was a scoundrel;*" to another, "*How many have you sent into the other world?*" The latter was his usual question to every physician the first time he spoke to him.



He had sent to Dresden for an English doctor, called *Baylies*, to bring inoculation into fashion in his dominions. On his arrival, he sent for him and asked his favourite question of "*How many have you dispatched into the other world?*" *Baylies*, who was as warm as witty, immediately replied, "*Not so many as you, fire!*" Frederick, who liked better to play upon others, than to be joked with, turned his back on him, and *never saw him from that moment*. The account given in the English newspapers that *Baylies* attended the monarch in his illness, and enjoyed his confidence to the last moment of his life, is, therefore, erroneous: never did that physician prescribe a pill or a powder for Frederick: so worthy of credit are the newspapers! \*

In 1763, Frederick paid a visit to D'Alembert, whom he brought with him to Berlin. He had frequently invited him to come and supply the place of Maupertuis; but the philosopher, warned by the shipwreck of Voltaire, did not chuse to expose himself on so tempestuous a sea. During his stay at Potzdam, Frederick repeated his solicitations, and D'Alembert persisted in his refusal. The king, piqued, said of him, "He makes it his glory to refuse princes, in hopes that posterity will one day give him credit for his disinterestedness; but he knows little of poste-

\* Probably the author is unacquainted with the sublime art of *puffing paragraphs* in England, which to strangers have the appearance of simple articles of news—and such I perfectly recollect were the articles respecting *Dr. Baylies*.

TRANSLATOR.

"rity;

“rity; either they will say nothing about it, or that  
“he acted very foolishly.”

Frederick was deceived. It was infinitely better to enjoy liberty, esteem, and tranquillity, in his native land, than to go to a remote country to become chief of a debased society, which the king himself took every opportunity of turning into ridicule.

The following is one of the causes of the hatred which Frederick conceived against his academy. Stunned with the praises which the academicians lavished upon such of his discourses as were, through his influence, read upon some occasions in their assemblies, he wished to ascertain whether these eulogies were sincere. To effect this, he had a manuscript in his way transmitted to the perpetual secretary, carefully concealing from whom it came. The production was rejected, nor did the academy so much as deign to notice it. Some time after the author's name transpired, and commendations were then as liberally bestowed; but the king sarcastically answered, “*You have taught me what to think of your suffrages:*” and from that moment he never missed an opportunity of making a jest of his academicians, treating them sometimes as no better than a set of idiots, and favouring every matter which appeared against them. (114) In the last years of his life, he wrote to D'Alembert, “I have little news to give you; as a philosopher, you do not trouble yourself with political affairs, and my academy is too stupid to afford you any thing interesting.” He forbade them to nominate their own members, which he took upon himself, that he might

have the pleasure of associating with them a considerable number of moderate literati, much in the manner of his father; but with this difference, that he always took care to reserve some men of merit, to have it said in foreign countries that he possessed such, and protected them. Every winter he sent for them, and diverted himself at their expence. (115) Euler, who appeared at the academy at the beginning of the reign of Frederick, held the society in little estimation, as too inferior to his genius, and returned to Russia. Bitaubé, one of those who, towards the end of Frederick's reign, wrote the purest French, was tired of Berlin, and went to pass whole years together at Paris, without the king's permission. Prevôt, who has translated Euripides, remained only a year or two at Berlin, and preferred exposing himself, destitute as he was, to all the vicissitudes of fortune, rather than vegetate in Prussia with a good pension. The bishop *in partibus* Perneti, (116) who had collected together no inconsiderable quantity of ducats, thanked Frederick for all his bounty, and when he went to demand permission to retire, the king laughed at him much with his *familiars*; but Perneti, who was exceedingly well paid, laughed also secretly, in *his* turn, and with reason, for it was not he who became the dupe. On the death of Sulzer, search was made in vain for some person to replace him: the king wanted a Swiss, knowing that the Swiss literati bear a jest with great complacency, when out of their own country. Merian, who was employed to find one, met with nothing but refusals from all quarters. Even  
some



some young priests of Geneva disdained the honour of replacing this great man; but at length a young preceptor of that city agreed to try whether it would not be less irksome to be an academician of Berlin, than a pedagogue; he came, indeed, but soon after withdrew. The place was then offered to a theologian of Stougard, who had gained a half prize of the academy; but the theologian refused the place of Sulzer, and from that period to the death of Frederick it remained vacant.

Most of the French in the academy were sent to the king by D'Alembert, who, when his choice was laughed at, answered with an excuse similar to that of the Paris milliners, who, when any of the extravagant fashions which they display in their shops are ridiculed, reply, "*They are good enough for the North.*" Some of these Frenchmen, however, by assisting at the academical assemblies, conceived that they were really men of letters; even affected to disdain the men of merit who had retired, and went to Paris to make a parade of an erudition from which they promised themselves the acquisition of much celebrity; but, having become mere objects of laughter, some of them embraced professions which formed a sad contrast to the title of academician. (117)

A circumstance which more particularly contributed to throw ridicule on the academy, was the order requiring all the memoirs to be drawn up in French; a very proper regulation, had the members consisted only of Frenchmen: but let us figure to ourselves Germans, Swiss, and Italians, obliged to  
write

write and read their memoirs in a language with the elements of which they were unacquainted! Many of them got their memoirs corrected by language masters; but when pronounced at their public sessions, it was a perfect comedy for a Frenchman.

Accordingly, some of the French publicly turned the academicians into ridicule. Premontval, one of their brethren, published a periodical work, entitled *The Preservative*, in which he criticised, with much pleasantry, the barbarous language of some of the academicians. Among others, he reproached the perpetual secretary with having made use of the following expressions: *les genoux d'une ame* (the knees of a soul); *des femmes parleuses qui s'accrochent au premier venu* (chattering women who fasten themselves on the first comer); *des marmites que la mort renverse* (cooking pots overset by death); *ces douces fonctions de boire, de manger, et de FAIRE JOUER LES AUTRES ORGANES, auxquels la nature a attaché du plaisir* (those delicious functions of eating, drinking, and GIVING PLAY TO THE OTHER ORGANS to which nature has attached pleasure); and a thousand other slips of the same nature, with which he used to season his discourses. Another grammarian, named Laveaux,\* ridiculed them in 1782, in a pamphlet entitled *Leçons de la Langue Française données à quelques Académiciens de Berlin.* (118) The king read this pamphlet, was amused with it, charged the author to compose a work calculated to correct (as he said) the style of these

\* The author of the present work.—T.

gentlemen,

gentlemen, and furnished him with the plan. Laveaux published, in consequence, a periodical work, under the title of *Cours de Langue et de Littérature Française*, in which he gave an account of the new works of the academicians, and criticised their faults rather in a caustic way, observing that there was no other method of being attended to in correcting French works in Germany. Though the work was ordered by the king, dedicated to the king, approved by the king, and regularly read by the king, (119) the author was exposed to many persecutions, from which he always extricated himself by getting the laughers on his side. He even reduced several academicians most respectfully to present him their memoirs before they ventured to read or publish them. Frederick, who was fond of this sort of bickering, and delighted at finding matter of laughter against his academicians, encouraged the author, taking care, likewise, to commend his criticisms at his suppers, in the presence of persons whom he knew to be the author's friends. He affected even to ask his opinion on some manuscripts, and charged some of his academicians with the commission. (120) Some German news-writers have blamed Laveaux for commencing his criticisms with the memoir of a minister of state who has rendered services to Prussia;\* but services are no plea for not writing well when any man thinks proper to give his works to the public; besides that the king had expressly ordered him to make no exceptions.

\* Supposed to be M. de Hertzberg.—T.



He has been amply justified by the reception given to his works by Frederick since that period, and, above all, by the good sense of the minister himself, who, after publishing that he had been criticised without reason, has finished by correcting, in the memoirs of the academy, all the faults commented upon in his own. (121)

All these circumstances threw so much ridicule on the academy, that, in 1784, an academician, who, notwithstanding, was a native of France, having been prosecuted, in a court of justice, for defaming one of the common people, was sentenced to a reparation on a decision formed from the *dictionary of the French academy*. (122) Nothing can be more laughable than to see the sentences of a German tribunal converted into lessons on the French language for French academicians!

We must not here omit speaking of two interviews between Frederick and the emperor Joseph II. The first took place the 25th of August, 1769. Frederick understood that Joseph intended paying him a visit at his camp at Neisse, on his return from Italy, and had made the necessary preparations to receive him. When the emperor arrived, the king was already in the episcopal palace, and descending the stairs to meet him, at the moment he set his foot on the first steps. Joseph hastened to mount them, and accosted Frederick, saying, "*At length my wishes are accomplished!*" The king answered, "*This is one of the most pleasing days of my life.*" Military usages were substituted in the room of all court ceremonies, and

and Frederick kept the right as the oldest general. (123) The two monarchs seated themselves under a canopy, and conversed together for some time in presence of the prince royal of Prussia and prince Henry; after this, they both passed into a cabinet, where they held a private conversation for an hour, and, in coming out of it, it was remarked that the emperor embraced the king. This interview at an end, a courier was dispatched to M. Benoit, the Prussian envoy at Warsaw. They then dined together with the princes and some generals of their suit. General Laudohn, who was invited to this dinner, attempted to place himself at the bottom of the table; but the king obligingly invited him to take his seat by his side, saying, "*Come and sit down here, general Laudohn; I always liked better to see you by my side, than face to face.*" After the king had returned the emperor's visit, the latter went to see the prince of Prussia, in the king's carriage. The next day, he called upon the king on horseback, to view the military exercises; after which he set out for his camp at Colin, and Frederick for Breslaw.

The year following, Frederick returned the emperor's visit in his camp of Neustadt, where he was received with great respect, and the army manœuvred in his presence.

An ordinance published by Frederick in 1772, subjecting all manuscripts destined for publication to a *censure*, seemed irreconcilable with that liberty of the press which he had invariably granted to all works in which he did not immediately concern himself; and,  
in

in fact, this law appeared the more singular, as the entrance of all foreign books was freely permitted. But, these contradictory laws, which were frequently renewed, are less to be attributed to him than to some persons in office, who were afraid of seeing their conduct arraigned. These men never ceased representing to the king, that the liberty of the press would give rise to works injurious to foreign powers, which might occasion quarrels with his neighbours, and perhaps reprisals; and they always seized the moment when some libel of this nature made its appearance to obtain such ordinances from the king. The matter was even carried so far as to occasion a decree, enacting that all foreign books should be read by the censor before they were exposed to sale. Now, it is worth observing, that there is but one literary censor at Berlin, and that eight or ten thousand new works are annually imported from the fair of Leipzig, not including those from France, England, and Italy. We may imagine, then, the arduous task of the poor censor, and what patience the Brandenburgers must be supposed to possess, were they to wait for the permission of reading new publications. Thus does passion combined with authority and want of information, involve governments in measures the most inconceivable, the absurdity of which is palpable to a man of the most limited understanding. But Frederick, who, in granting these ordinances, only yielded to importunity, contrived to encourage authors to violate and elude them. When a printer was condemned to pay a fine for an infraction of the law, it seemed only necessary that he should



should write to the king, who never failed to exempt him from it, frequently adding in his answer, "*My intention is to have the press free;*" and a letter to the king always procured permission to print, without passing through the hands of the censor. This permission he had granted to one Crantz, who made a trade of recording in his wretched sheets the adventures of the public walks and coffee-houses, and the oversights of the courts of justice, but he lost it in the following manner. His paper was entitled, *Charlataneries* (quackeries), which drew down on him the vengeance of all the quacks; a tolerably numerous tribe in every state. One of these quacks, watching for a favourable moment, read, one day, in Crantz's paper, that he would speedily publish the *quackeries of Vienna*: an excellent opportunity! He represents the matter to the king, in a point of view, to the infallible effect of which he was no stranger, and succeeded in procuring an order to submit in future the *quackeries of Berlin* to the inspection of the censor, in order to avert the danger (as he pretended) of suffering the impression of the *quackeries of Vienna*.

Another adventure, which attracted the general attention at Berlin in 1784, still more clearly proves the nature of the king's sentiments in this respect. There appeared, that year, a little satirical romance, and the minister of state, who had been animadverted upon in the *Cours de Langue* of professor de Laveaux, supposed him to be the author; and as the latter was at that time contesting with the former the right of printing his periodical work without being subject to the

the censor, this minister conceived himself to be pointed out in several passages, and persons were sent to the booksellers to seize all the copies. The author, who happened to be present at this seizure, purchased them all, which he had the courage to have carried to his house, in presence of the persons sent to take them. A correspondence instantly took place between the minister and the writer, and, in consequence of a complaint made by the former to the king, his majesty wrote a letter to the president Philippi, enjoining M. de Laveaux to keep clear of personalities; but, no order was issued to seize or stop the sale of the romance printed without the authority of the censor, though the author sold it publicly in his house. Laveaux, astonished at the accusation of personalities, and that the king should issue such an injunction without enquiry, wrote freely to him, defying his enemies to shew a single instance of reprehensible personality in his works, and representing to his majesty, that he had himself ordered, encouraged, and approved the criticisms he had made. Frederick, who saw that he had been misunderstood, wrote a stronger letter than the former to the president Philippi, who took the following method of signifying the king's motives and intentions to the author. The professor waiting on the president, he shewed him every mark of politeness, sent for a bottle of champagne, which he chearfully drank with him, laughing at the romance and criticisms; and, after two hours conversation and pleasantry, he read to him the king's letter, sociably touching the brim of each other's glass at the emptying of the bottle.

bottle. Laveaux, not ignorant of the king's sentiments upon this occasion, now began to comprehend the matter; he was permitted to sell his romance; it was recommended to him to *continue* his criticisms; and, agreeably to his own request, he heard no more of the nomination of a censor. Assuredly, if Frederick had been desirous of restraining the liberty of the press, he could not have availed himself of a more seasonable opportunity, than in the case of satisfaction demanded by a minister whom he loved, and who had rendered him the greatest services. Thus terminated the affair.

While this laughable scene was passing, in which the king played the most distinguished part, the pamphlets entitled *Frederick the Great*, (a disgusting satire against the king,) *Memoirs to serve as the Life of Voltaire*, *The King of Prussia's Mornings*, *The Trial of the Three Kings*, *The Rose Pot*, and a multitude of other injurious libels, were publicly exposed to sale at Berlin, the titles being, also, printed in the catalogues regularly sent by the booksellers to the king. It was thus that Frederick opposed the liberty of the press; it is thus that we should give credit to all those anecdotes and cabinet orders collected for printers by their compositors, and which are always erroneously judged of, when we know neither circumstances, motives, nor events.

It was long since Frederick had been surrounded by any French literati: the bickerings in which he had been involved by their society, and the ingratitude with which some of them had repaid his bounty, filled



him with a secret disgust, which soon diminished his passion for French literature, and his esteem for the authors of that nation. Perhaps, too, he was a little piqued that his poetry had not succeeded so well in France as to compensate for the pains he had taken in composing it: at all events, he affected to hold the French in less estimation. This the Germans who surrounded him perceived, and, therefore, neglected no point to confirm him in such a change of sentiments.

Frederick had at Paris a literary correspondent of the name of Thiriot, an extremely well-informed man, who was generally called *Voltaire's Memory*, from his singular attachment to that great man, and because his memory contained a repertory of all the anecdotes, repartees, verses, and smart things, which were said or printed in the world. This Thiriot, occupied almost during the space of thirty years in his correspondence with the king of Prussia, would have died of hunger but for the assistance of Voltaire. It appears, by a letter from Voltaire to the king in 1773, (125) that, after the death of this correspondent, Frederick would have no other, and that he was no longer amused by the literary news of Paris. He still continued, however, to hear from D'Alembert; but we may see, by a letter which he wrote him after an illness, in what estimation he held this intelligence. (126) He calls some of the pieces sent to him, *a wretched jumble which disgusted him in the reading.*

The Germans had succeeded in disgusting him against the French, and almost converted him in their favour,

favour, as we may see by the same letter. But he never liked them; and, in truth, the German literati of his day were not very amiable. Wolf, whom he had so highly commended, displeased him at the very first interview: he was a cabinet philosopher, without any knowledge of the world; blushed at every word the king said to him, and, in answering, knew not where to place his arms or legs. Frederick called Gottsched *a profoundly learned blockhead; a genuine magazine of learning where every thing is arranged, but who does not himself know what it contains; a pedant who smelt too strong of the dust of the library, and had no knowledge of the world.*

Frederick entertained, above all, the most sovereign contempt for German lawyers and civilians. Ludewic, Schmaufs, and Moser, the three greatest civilians Germany ever possessed, lived in his dominions at the commencement of his reign. He wished to read some of their greatly celebrated works; but he was so discouraged and disgusted by their barbarous and diffuse style, that he conceived the most unfavourable opinion of their authors, and of those who commended them, and would not even permit them to teach in the universities. He laughed at the erudition of these men, who wrote in barbarous Latin, and in bad German, respecting the interests of courts, and who, in reasoning concerning treaties, had not the smallest idea of what was passing in the cabinets. Ludewic, who wrote for the house of Austria, for which he was ennobled by the emperor Charles VI. could not, for this reason, be very agreeable to Frederick; Moser, by

composing a Latin treatise in favour of the pragmatic sanction, was also guilty of an offence so irreparable in the king's eyes, that he was under a necessity of quitting Berlin; and Schmauß, who thought to stand well with the court on account of his work in defence of the house of Brandenburg, could only remain some time at Halle, and finally retired to Gœttingen.

"The German language," observed Frederick, "is only a jargon destitute of grace, and which every one treats according to his caprice. It consists of terms employed without selection, the most expressive and peculiar words being neglected, and the meaning of things drowned in episodical oceans. This half barbarous language is divided into as many dialects as Germany has provinces. Each circle is convinced that its jargon is the best. What is written in Swabia is unintelligible at Hamburgh, and the style of Austria appears obscure in Saxony. Melpomene has been courted among the Germans only by untoward votaries, some stalking upon stilts, others crawling in the dirt; and all of them, rebels against her laws, knowing neither how to interest or touch the heart, have been rejected from her altars."

It is certain that the German was such as Frederick describes it, at his accession to the throne; but he wrote this in 1780, when that language had greatly changed, many writers having lately expressed themselves with clearness, elegance, and precision. If the men of genius who have made such efforts to reform the German literature have not generally succeeded, it is not  
their



their fault, but that of the nation. In many parts of Germany the only science, the science which alone can lead to consideration, honours, and fortune, is the *jus publicum*, which powerful princes ridicule, and which is of no service but for the weak. The most inconsiderable compiler in that line is more esteemed than the sublimest poet, or the most elegant historian, and the great number of civilians whose style is still barbarous and unintelligible, contribute to perpetuate bad taste and barbarism. Who would imagine that the Germans have an excellent work on the synonymous words of their language, in the style of the French *Synonymes* of Girard and Roubaud, which is almost totally unknown, and that its author, by writing four volumes on so useful a subject, has not been able to acquire the smallest share of glory, while a miserable pamphlet, on the rights of a petty nobleman who has not four hundred a year income, is sometimes extolled to the sky throughout the empire?

It is not astonishing, therefore, that Lessing, who, after forming himself by the French, has so bitterly traduced them; that Mendelsohn, that Wieland, Weisse, Engel, Ramler, Gesner, Zolikofer, Sulzer, Kant, Garve, Wefel, Bürger, Claudius, and others, should have had so little influence in general on the language. It is not astonishing that so few Germans should have adopted and pursued the same career with these great writers. Several of these authors either actually languish, or have languished, in the obscurity of a subaltern college, with barely to supply their most urgent necessities, while heavy commen-

tators on the golden bull, without style and without orthography, not unfrequently enjoy an immense fortune, in despite of genuine men of letters. Frederick himself, who has written on the defects of the German language, has contributed more than any person to retard its progress by the contempt with which he treated those who cultivated it with success. Under his reign, never could Ramler, Engel, Mendelsohn, Garve, or Kant, obtain admission into his academy, in which he indiscriminately placed masters of Paris boarding-schools, or French colonists whose language had degenerated. (127) Frederick-William II. has rectified this error; all the German literati of acknowledged merit have been honoured, at his accession to the throne, with a place in the academy of Berlin, and the comte de Hertzberg is named curator.

It is to this minister that Germany is more especially indebted for the estimation in which Frederick, towards the end of his life, seemed to hold German writers and the language. This wise minister, whose reputation is as firmly established in the political as in the literary world, being at Breslaw during the negotiations for the peace of Teschen, in 1779, maintained the honour of the national language in his familiar conversations with Frederick. The king pretending that it was impossible to translate Tacitus into German, M. de Hertzberg sent him a German translation of some passages of that author, and the king replied, "*Aye, this is good German, and one of the best pieces I have read.*" The patriot minister was not content with this, but, being soon after at Sans-

Sans-Souci, he had some German books read to the king, who laughed at them. (128) It was on this occasion that Frederick published *A Dissertation on the German Literature, the Defects with which it may be reproached, the Causes of these Defects, and the Means of correcting them.*

M. de Hertzberg, who is, unquestionably, an excellent judge of this matter, notwithstanding all his patriotism and enthusiasm for his language, could not help avowing, that *the king's remarks were no less judicious than profound; that this publication, inconsiderable in bulk, but rich in observations, was applauded by the well-informed part of the German nation.* (129) He wrote to Frederick, after perusing the work, "I foresee that all sensible and unprejudiced Germans will be enchanted to find, that a king, who has carried the glory of his nation to the highest pitch by the sword and by the pen, but who has been hitherto deemed to hold the German tongue in no great estimation, is, nevertheless, of all men, he who has the most profoundly studied its strength and feebleness, and *lays down the best rules for its improvement.*" One of the methods proposed by Frederick for amending the German language, was by adding vowels to words terminating in consonants. "Vowels," he remarks, "please the ear; too many consonants near each other hurt it, as they require more trouble to pronounce, and have nothing sonorous. We have a great number of auxiliary and active verbs, the last syllables of which are dead and disagreeable, as *sagen, geben, nehmen*: put an *a* to the



“ end of these terminations, and make *sagena, gebena,*  
 “ *nebmena*, and the ear will be delighted with the  
 “ sounds.” Another method proposed by Frederick,  
 is to translate Tacitus, and other authors, whose *sen-*  
*tentious style*, he adds, will oblige the translators to  
 abandon their idle terms and useless words. (130)

Frederick refused to see the German literati, whom  
 he considered as so many pedants, and used to cite,  
 as an instance of their absurdity, the following passage  
 of Professor Heineccius, in a dedicatory epistle to a  
 queen: “ *Ibro majestæt glænzen wie ein karfunkel*  
 “ *am finger der jetzigen zeit;*” “ Your majesty sparkles  
 “ like a carbuncle on the finger of the present age:”  
 and this other from a poet, who says to his patron,  
 “ *Schiefs, großer gønner, schiefs deine strahlen, armdick,*  
 “ *auf deinen knecht bernieder;*” or, “ Diffuse, great  
 “ protector, diffuse thy rays, thick as my arm, upon  
 “ thy servant.” He recollected the awkwardness of  
 Wolf, the pedantry of Gottsched, and the indiffe-  
 rence of Gellert. In his expeditions into Silesia, he  
 often amused himself with the pedantry of the rector  
 of the college of Breslaw, called Arletius, whom he sent  
 for to divert him. This man, who is a living repertory  
 of titles, rare books, editions, dates, facts, and names  
 of ancient and modern history, is, in other respects,  
 wholly destitute of taste and knowledge of the world.  
 The first time Frederick sent for him, he cited to him  
 some names taken from the obscure history of the  
 ancient Slavi and Bohemians, and the king acknow-  
 ledging that he knew nothing of them, “ I am asto-  
 “ nished at that,” replies the pedant; “ for, your  
 “ majesty

"majesty has written the Memoirs of Brandenbourg."

"It is a great error," said he, another time, to the king, "that, since the beginning of your majesty's reign, the letters D. G. (*dei gratiâ*) are no longer put upon the coin." The king answered him, "that neither were these two letters to be found on the coin of the ancient emperors." I know that "very well," replied Arletius; "*but all these emperors were Pagans.*" He maintained likewise that Greek should form the chief study of young princes, and he expressed great surprise that it was neglected. (131)

Attempts were made gradually to overturn the prejudices with which men of this sort had inspired the king, and some literary Germans, considered as less pedantic, were recommended to his attention. He saw Garve, a man of learning, of Breslaw, who, after Mendelsohn, passes for one of the greatest philosophers in Germany. (132) At Berlin, Nicolai was introduced to him, a bookseller and author, who has composed a tolerably pleasing romance, who publishes a journal entitled *The German Library*, in which the French are often rather harshly treated, and has written *Travels* *not* in the style of Tacitus. Meierotto, rector of one of the colleges of Berlin, author of several good elementary books, and, (towards the end of his life) Gleim, an agreeable poet, were admitted to his presence.

The Italians, who frequently attended upon the king, favoured the views of the Germans, and nothing was talked of but the progress of German literature, and the decline of letters in France. "*By constantly re-*  
"*peating*

"*peating a thing,*" observes Voltaire, "*were it false, we at last make ourselves believe it.*" Frederick believed, then, or pretended to believe, that the French no longer wrote any thing but insipidities, and that the Germans and English only had common sense. It was at this period he wrote to D'Alembert, "*Were I but young again, I would divorce myself from the French, and range on the side of the English and the Germans.*"

The ground-work was thus laid, when an Italian, whom the king's favourites had sent for to Berlin, to become a member of the academy, thought to strike the last stroke. This was the abbé Denina, known by an Italian work on *The Revolutions of Italy*, said to be the production of a learned prelate of that country, but given to the world under the name of the abbé. This person, piqued against the French, because Voltaire had formerly treated him as a pedant in his *Man of forty Crowns*, (133) because the French had not spoken early enough of his works, and because his reputation did not equal that of Raynal, (134) gave a loose to his animosity in the most ridiculous discourse ever committed to the press since pedants have been accustomed to scribble upon paper. The pretext for this singular production was the article *Spain*, in the *New Encyclopedia*, alphabetically arranged. (135) M. Maffon de Morvilliers, the author of this article, had asked, "*What do we owe to Spain?*" and added, "*For two centuries, for four, for ten centuries, what has she done for Europe?*" The Italian abbé thought to answer this question in a discourse read by him



him the 26th of January, 1786, at a public meeting of the academy. (136) The good abbé pretends that we may ask, on the contrary, "*What has France ever done for the human race since she existed?*" and it is nearly on this thesis that the whole of his eloquent discourse turns. His mode of demonstration is still more ridiculous than the thesis itself. He pretends, that France is greatly behind Spain in theology, as *the Spaniards were the inventors of the scholastic theology*: he pretends, *that the Spanish inquisition contracted the ferocity with which it has been reproached, in Provence and Languedoc*; and compares *lettres de cachet* to the *auto-da-fé*. He lays prodigious stress on the services Spain has rendered the universe, *by establishing the religious orders*, and is cruelly severe on France for having founded only the Carthusians. According to him, Europe owes much to Spain *for the system of a permanent soldiery*, established by Ferdinand the Catholic. He insinuates that Montesquieu formed himself from the works of the reverend fathers *Suarez, Vasquez, &c.*; that, but for the work of a certain Spaniard, named *Covarruvias*, France never would have possessed *The Spirit of the Laws*; and he discovers more erudition in the holy councils of Spain, than in the works of the immortal Pithous. We are indebted to Spain, he remarks, for the medicinal science, since medicine comes from the Arabs, and the Arabs inhabited Spain. He forgets that the Spaniards first brought us the venereal disorder, when he wishes to excite our gratitude for their having been the first to discover the efficaciousness of mercury as an *antidote*.

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He says, that the Spaniards are the restorers of anatomy, without reflecting, that, so late as the reign of Charles V. the university of Salamanca deliberated, *Whether a dead body might be dissected without injuring the conscience?* and that the inquisition wanted to burn Vesale, the Fleming, for having dissected dead bodies. It is enough for a man of letters to have travelled in Spain previous to the publication of a work, or the making any discovery; this is ample evidence in favour of our abbé, to prove that the work or discovery has been borrowed from the Spaniards. If we may believe him, Descartes took all his ideas from them; it is to the Spaniards we owe music, painting, architecture, sculpture, poetry, history, romances, and even the game of ombre. He alledges that the first *Troubadours*, or ancient bards of Provence, were Spaniards, because they flourished in Provence; and the Spaniards have three or four good epic poems, while the French have only one. He assures us that Boileau's Art of Poetry is only a collection put in rhyme; the *Henriad*, the *Lutrin*, &c. detestable, in comparison of those three or four Spanish poems, which he does not name, and concerning which no person can form a conjecture. In *his* opinion the French never would have had the *Horaces*, *Cinna*, *Rodogune*, *Polieucte*, *Iphigénie*, *Athalie*, *Zaïre*, *Mahomet*, the *Misanthrope*, the *Tartuffe*, *L'Avare*, in a word, not even the *Marriage of Figaro*, without the *Festin de Pierre*, *Jodelet*, and *Don Japhet d'Arménie*.

This is a sketch of the absurdities with which the abbé's discourse was filled. He declares, in an advertisement,

tisement,

tisement, that Frederick was of the same opinion; and, in his dedication to M. de Hertzberg, he assures the public that he proposes, by this work, *to binder the French from pretending to the exclusive privilege of influencing the studies, the works, and tastes of every other nation.*

Some persons of merit, such as the duke of Brunswick, the count de Mirabeau, and others, who were present at this assembly, were unable to suppress their indignation, and sarcasms were circulated through the whole company. As we may imagine, a work of this nature did not pass uncriticised. It was turned into ridicule by the Germans themselves, though no admirers of French literature. The good abbé, scouted by both nations, flew into a very unedifying rage, and vomited forth against his antagonists a torrent of injurious expressions, in a pamphlet entitled *Lettres critiques, &c.* not feeling that this was acknowledging his defeat, and that, being unable to confound his adversaries, it would have been wiser to have remained silent. Accordingly, no writer has taken the trouble to reply. In this answer he had the imprudence to reveal matters which passed at prince Henry's table, where he was not admitted, but which had been communicated to him by some indiscreet person of the company. This enlightened prince, who loves the French, and is himself worthy the love of all nations, expressed his indignation at these proceedings, and the poor abbé had the mortification to see himself disavowed, even by the very persons to whom he had presumed to address



dress his *Lettres critiques*, who were vexed when they observed their names brought forward in a work of such a nature. (137)

Denina was member of the academy of Berlin, while the abbé Raynal, who passed near two years at Berlin, and would have settled there, had the king testified any desire to have him in his academy, was not invited to remain. (138) So striking was the difference between the Frederick of 1750 and the Frederick of 1784! The ridiculous pamphlets of the abbé Denina, and a prize given to the count de Rivarol for his work *on the Causes of the Universality of the French Language*, were the two last exploits of the academy of Berlin under the reign of Frederick, and, in fact, the last gasp of that society; for Frederick-William II. has laid the foundation of a new society.

Had it been the express intention of the academy, in crowning the memoir of M de Rivarol, to prove to the king that the style of the French authors was become conceited and affected, they could not have made a better choice; but the persons who cried up this memoir to the skies, had no such refinement. They really admired it, declaring loudly, before the unsealing of the billet, that they knew no man of letters in France, not even the immortal Buffon, the best writer of whom that country could ever boast, capable of producing a master-piece of this nature. Yet this memoir is filled from one end to the other with examples of the most extraordinary style: in it we find,

Les

*Les expressions figurées sont comme assises à la porte de chaque profession.....*(Figurative expressions are seated, as it were, at the door of each profession.)

*Les poètes étrangers serrent de près le style figuré.....*  
(Foreign poets stick close to the figurative style.)

*Un concert de voix troublé par un silence.....*(A concert of voices disturbed by a silence.)

*Le monde qui change d'attitude.....*(The world which changes attitudes.)

*Lâcher du Grec tout pur.....*(To spout pure Greek.)

*La langue Française est une planète qui a ses satellites & une température.....*(The French language is a planet which has its satellites and a temperature.)

*C'est une médaille, qui a une physionomie, qui a une probité attachée à son génie.....*(It is a medal, which has a physiognomy, a probity attached to its genius.)

Among others, there is a phrase, too, on Voltaire, the sense of which I leave to be unravelled by our modern Œdipi.

*L'infatigable mobilité de son ame de feu l'avait appelé à l'histoire fugitive des hommes, &c. &c.....*(The indefatigable mobility of his soul of fire had called him to the fugitive history of men, &c. &c.)\*

\* The translator has given a literal translation of these rhapsodies of this count de *Rigmarole*, to afford some idea of his nonsense to the English reader: and surely no man deserves less mercy from the literary world; for, since his return from Berlin, he has had the vanity and impertinence to assume the office of critic and censor general of the works of every man of merit and real talents in his own country.

TRANSLATOR.

In

In spite of all this, however, the count de Rivarol was chosen member of the academy of Berlin.

Such were the efforts made to disgust Frederick against the French, to whom he was indebted for part of his glory: for, without the French language, without the master-pieces of that nation, the lessons of Voltaire, his familiar and intimate communication with French men of letters, and the commendations lavished on him in French works which flew from pole to pole, Frederick would scarcely have been distinguished but as a fortunate conqueror, and the greatest part of his history would have been written in characters of blood. His literary glory, had he ever acquired any in his native language, would have wretchedly expired, like that of most of the Germans of his day, on the banks of the Oder or the Rhine; Europe would not have known him as an agreeable poet, an elegant historian, and an amiable philosopher; at least, his works would not have been read as they now are, in every country possessed of literature and taste: and this, surely, was what Frederick felt when he first formed the project of establishing a name; this it was which made him seek, with so much ardour, men celebrated in the world of letters, to engrave his name on the temple of memory.

Frederick was wrong in affecting, towards the end of his life, a contempt for the literary productions of a nation which still possessed a Raynal, a Buffon, a Marmontel, a Delisle, a Diderot, a Necker. If it was the effect of weakness, we must impute it to his age, which influenced his judgment; if the result of policy



policy (as has been alledged), it was fallacious; his glory stood not in need of contrast. The persons who occasioned this revolution in his old-age, gratified, perhaps, their jealousy of the French nation, and were seduced by the glimmerings of a mistaken patriotism: the event will prove whether they really struggled for the glory of the sovereign and the country. Catherine II. esteemed Voltaire, and thought him better calculated than any man to make the whole world acquainted with the merit of the founder of the Russian empire.

It seems difficult, no doubt, to pass a judgment on the works of Frederick. Voltaire has pretended that he corrected them; and others, who, still more than Voltaire, should have been silent on the subject, have boasted, since his death, of having furnished him with the materials for his history: take from him materials and style, what will there remain? Let us speak out: either materials collected by the student of an university, or the corrections of an able man, do not suffice in the formation of a good work. To dry, meagre, and confused extracts, a consistence, colouring, and order, must be given: a plan must be traced out, and its parts proportioned and distributed; they must be thrown into agreeable forms, connected together, and rendered proper to form a whole. This was the work of Frederick. As for the style, what is bad cannot be corrected. A good work must be the produce of a single cast, which genius alone can operate: in coming out of the mould, the workman may find some parts to polish, some trifling deficiencies

cies to correct ; but it is to the artist we are indebted for the master-piece. If a statue be destitute of graces, if there be no proportion in the dimensions, where is the Phidias who shall correct it to the point of excellency ? He must break it, and make another. On the other hand, should there exist only a few blemishes in the accessory parts, is he who corrects them entitled to claim the glory of the work ? *The Memoirs of Brandenburg* will always hold a distinguished rank among our best historical productions : we love to see a king throwing aside his rank to assume the quality of an historian, and speaking of his house and of his ancestors with a nobleness, a modesty, a wisdom, which constantly discover the philosopher, whilst they conceal the man. *The Art of War* is a poem wherein we meet with (I will not say verses, but) whole passages which Voltaire would not have disavowed, and which, with all his corrections, he never could have brought to their present state of perfection, had they been composed by a common genius. These two productions, and his *Anti-Machiavel*, would have sufficed to immortalize a Frenchman, and they are the work of a German and a king ! The *Eulogies* he composed in memory of some of his deceased friends, do honour to his heart, and, whatever his detractors may assert, they never can prevent us from esteeming them as so many acts of public homage rendered by a king to gratitude and friendship ; and, surely, such circumstances are considerable proofs of merit. Some of his *familiar Epistles* would not disgrace the works of La Fare and Chaulieu ; and he has written letters to  
the

the countess de Camas, to D'Alembert, and several others, which breathe as much nature, facility, and grace, as occur in many of the letters of Madame Deshoulières, not to mention those insipid and wearisome details which so frequently disgust us in the latter. And where is the Frenchman who has written like him upon the military art? Pleasantry is the only species of writing wherein Frederick has not always succeeded. This species, the most difficult perhaps of all, and which nature seems to have peculiarly appropriated to the French, cannot, I imagine, be ever happily attained to in a foreign language. There is none which requires a more perfect acquaintance with turns, expressions, allusions, metaphors, and the habit of introducing a charm in such writing to which description is inadequate, and which is rarely to be acquired by strangers, howsoever unremitted their attention to the study of a language. His tale entitled "*The Failure of the Miracle*," has not, unquestionably, the simplicity and graces of La Fontaine. In 1753, he attempted to play upon the public and news-writers in three letters in prose, which we cannot read without pleasure, because it is easier to jest in prose than poetry. It was on the subject of these letters that Voltaire thus addressed him in a peevish mood :

O ! Second Julian ! Frederick the Great !  
 Form'd to instruct and govern ev'ry state !  
 Some letters for the Public you indite.  
 Beware ! lest *they* should answer what *you* write !



Indeed, it is singular that Frederick, after writing these letters, and his heroi-comic poem on Poland (many poignant passages of which have been seen by some of the literati, and, *if not suppressed*, ought to appear in his posthumous works), should so ridiculously have interested himself against Voltaire's pamphlet on Maupertuis. (139) No person was more fond of satires than himself, nor did he let even Voltaire escape him. We know that this celebrated man had the presumption to make a declaration of love to a sister of the king in the following verses:

How oft fair Truth, delighting to unbend,  
Can to deceit her beauteous aspect lend !  
Sleeping, I saw, in an ecstatic dream,  
O'er my crown'd head the Sun of empire beam.  
I lov'd you, *then*, and, *then*, that love declar'd :  
My better half of pow'r the gods have spar'd :  
Waking, *without my throne*, I more than reign,  
Since, all my joys, save those of sway, remain.

Frederick thus answered in the name of the prince :

Whatever view directs our *chief* career,  
Analogous to this, the *dreams* appear.  
Heroes may *dream* that they the Rhine have cross'd ;  
And Merchants that their freight has millions cost.  
In *dreams*, dogs bark against the lucid moon ;  
But, that, in *dreams*, Voltaire should play the loon,  
And think himself elected Prussia's king,  
Shews that from *dreams* too wild vagaries spring.

He made some verses on *Candide*, which, as they are little known, we shall give the reader.

The

The little, worthless wretch *Candide*  
 Of sense and modesty has need.  
 Such wants as these proclaim the spark  
 Young brother to the Joan of Arc.  
 His aged fire, to grow less old,  
 Would give a plenteous purse of gold.  
 They juvenility regain  
 Who write in such a boyish strain.  
 " *All is not well,*" the author cries :  
 To prove this fact, the pages rise.  
 " *All's wrong*" (he swears) ; and, faithful, still,  
 Each page reechoes, " *All is ill !*"

We know likewise the satirical verses he made against the French nation, and Louis XV. who then governed it. As they have been printed in the *Memoirs* to serve as the Life of Voltaire, we shall not here repeat them, nor the still more cutting answer returned by order of the duke de Choiseul.

Frederick has been reproached with sometimes laying good poets under contribution, and borrowing without ceremony whole hemisticks from Boileau, Rousseau, Voltaire, and others. It must be allowed that we cannot wholly exculpate him from this reproach. Since his death, a copy of verses has been published, composed not many years since, which announces the decline of the poet, and makes us forget the pupil of Voltaire. (140) These verses, certainly, were never corrected by another hand ; for he had no person about him at that time capable of correcting French poetry. Had they not been composed at so advanced an age, we might from them be enabled

bled to judge of his real poetic talent; and there is reason to think, that we shall find several pieces in his posthumous works, where the poet will appear in his true colours.

We should have still much to add respecting his private life; we might speak of his prodigious memory, of his love for solitude and gardening, of his taste for fruits, of his attachment for those animals which are the symbols of fidelity, of his familiarity with the persons usually about him, and with his domestics; but we have thrown together, at the end of this volume, a number of anecdotes, which will supply what we shall here omit. These facts paint the character better than any reasoning. Let us pass, therefore, to the particulars of his illness and his death.

For some years the king was very infirm; he was tormented by the gout, subject to frequent indigestions, and his strength diminished from day to day. Yet, until his death in 1786, never did his infirmities prevent him from attending, as usual, his reviews, or from visiting the different provinces of his dominions. He has been known to review his troops, and gallop through all the ranks, as if he felt no pain, notwithstanding that the abscess which had broken out upon him, and approached to a suppuration, frequently, upon such occasions, touched the saddle.

In August, 1785, he reviewed his army in Silesia, in very bad weather; and on the 24th there was a continual



continual fall of rain, which the king received on his body, during four or five hours, without so much as covering himself with a cloak. On his return, it appeared that all his cloaths were soaked to the very shirt, and water was poured out of his boots as from a pitcher. This expedition greatly hurt his health. When returned to Potzdam, he was attacked by a fever, and for the first time became unable to assist at the military exercises of Potzdam, which take place in the month of September. He appointed general Rohdich to review the foreign regiments, and the reigning monarch, then prince royal, to superintend the manœuvres : but, his malady did not prevent him from dictating himself the disposition of those exercises throughout the three days of their duration ; and he always gave the word in presence of his generals and the foreigners of distinction then at Potzdam.

Towards the end of autumn, the fever quitted him, and was succeeded by a violent cough ; but the gout, which usually attacked him at this season, did not make its appearance. The cough, still augmenting, prevented him from taking regular sleep ; but, this situation, though it greatly weakened him, did not in the least influence his activity in business ; he did not for a single day discontinue to read all the dispatches of his ministers in foreign courts, the reports of the chiefs of the different departments, nor the immense quantity of letters and petitions from individuals which he was continually receiving. Every morning at four or five o'clock, he, as usual, ordered the three cabinet secretaries to enter, one after the other, and dictated

answers to all these papers, from the most important dispatch to the most trifling letter and the most frivolous demand from the lowest of his subjects. This occupation generally lasted till 7 or 8 o'clock. After this entered general Rohdich, the commandant of Potzdam, then his aides-de-camp, to whom he gave his orders for the garrison. It was not till after he had expedited all his affairs that he saw a surgeon, and sometimes a physician, to consult them on his disorder. Towards eleven, he sent for some of the persons who, by his command, were either always at Potzdam, or came from Berlin to keep him company, and with these he conversed till noon. He then dined alone, and, after dinner, signed all the letters or answers he had dictated in the morning. At five, he again sent for some of his society, with whose conversation he amused himself till eight. After this, he retired and passed the remainder of his evening in hearing some ancient authors read to him: sometimes, also, when the letters he received were too numerous, he ran over the contents of several before he went to bed. Such were his occupations to the day which immediately preceded his death.

During some years past, he perspired copiously in the night, and considered this evacuation as contributing greatly to his health. In the month of December, 1785, these perspirations began sensibly to diminish, and at length entirely ceased. The king, who piqued himself on knowing his constitution, and measured his health by the quantity of his nocturnal perspiration, began to doubt of his cure. Ten years  
before,

before, Muzel, his physician, had pronounced, that, whenever the perspiration should stop, the king would be in the greatest danger. Accordingly, Frederick often said, *Would but my perspiration return!* Yet all the skill of the physicians could not recall it; a circumstance which confirmed him still more strongly in the bad opinion which he had long conceived of the medicinal science.

An oppression now ensuing, which still continued to augment, he did not go to Berlin during the carnival, as was his constant custom. In this situation he passed the winter, and it was hoped that the spring would do more for his health than any remedies. He himself looked forward to this change, and waited for the return of fine weather. On the first favourable days of April, he was placed in an arm-chair on what was called *the green stair-case*, and remained part of the afternoon in the sun. As soon as the weather became entirely settled, he resolved to remove to Sans-Souci. The 15th of this month, at six in the morning, he got into a carriage, took an airing of a few leagues, and returned in the evening to Sans-Souci. This little excursion did him good, and he found himself much better.

This amendment, however, was but of short duration; the oppression encreased, his strength daily diminished, and it was with great difficulty that he spoke. He was unable to assist at the ordinary reviews of the 17th and 18th of May, but he still hoped to be present at those of Silesia. He several times attempted to mount his horse to go to the parade of  
Poz-



Potzdam, but, feeling his powers fail him, he returned, after proceeding a few paces. He once advanced, however, as far as the new palace of Potzdam, to see the vines he had planted there the preceding year; and, at another time, he reached the gate of the town, but the dust rising from the road and the new buildings so incommoded him, that he thought proper to return. To remedy the latter inconvenience, he ordered all the streets of Potzdam to be watered twice a day; but the weather turned cold, and his health was every day impairing.

In these circumstances the king did not pay sufficient attention to his food; he was fond of fruit and pastry, and often ate of them. One day, when he found himself a little better, he chose for his meal an Italian *ragout*, called *pollenta*, made of the flour of Turkey corn, Parmesan cheese, and oil; such a *ragout* might have incommoded a man in full health, and the king was seized with a violent cholic, which nearly cost him his life.

At length his disorder terminated in a dropsy, and he was no longer able to lie in bed. He remained day and night in an arm-chair with springs, which could be moved at pleasure. By degrees his legs swelled, and became so stiff that he could no longer stir them. The swelling continued to mount. His appetite was good, but his sleep was irregular. Sometimes he slept in eating and drinking; and, one day, having called his footman to give him a glass of water, he lifted him up with his left arm to place him in a proper attitude to carry the glass to his mouth, but  
at

at the moment when his lips were approaching it, the king fell asleep, and the servant, who was afraid of replacing him in his chair, supported him in this manner during two hours, when he at length awakened, and asked whether he had slept a quarter of an hour.

Nearly a month preceding his death, the swelling in his feet giving him violent pain, he sent for the surgeon and ordered him to make an incision in his legs, thinking thus to alleviate the pain. This the surgeon refused, apprehending that the operation would hasten the king's death. Nature, however, seconded the wishes of the patient; his right leg opened, and it was followed by a great quantity of matter. This afforded the king great ease, and gave some hopes to those who interested themselves in his health; but the physicians were of a different opinion, and, now, concluded that there was no longer any resource. In fact, his weakness became excessive, and the king, who till now had always enjoyed a very great appetite, entirely lost it.

He remained three weeks in this condition, during which time he transacted (as we have observed) his affairs, as if in the enjoyment of perfect health. Some days before his death, he dictated to his aides-de-camp the plan of the exercises at the reviews in Silesia, and entered into all the details of the movements and choice of ground. He still employed himself with general D'Anhalt in new military arrangements, the raising of some free battalions, and several affairs of the same nature. He dictated to his minister Hertzberg

berg his intentions respecting foreign affairs, and settled with the ministers De Hoym, De Werder, and the privy counsellor Schutz of Pomerania, new plans for clearing out lands, improvements, and manufactures. He intended to build several new villages, and was in expectation of three hundred Spanish sheep for which he had sent to improve the breed in his dominions. Some days before he died these sheep were to arrive at Potzdam, and he looked for them with impatience, ordering some of them to be brought to him at Sans-Souci, where, as he expressed himself, *he would receive their visit*. The 15th of August, the day before his death, he gave orders for the garriſon of Potzdam to exerciſe out of the town.

On the 16th, he was ſo weak as not to be able to purſue his ordinary occupations. From the morning his throat began to rattle violently, and his attendants expected every inſtant to ſee him reſign his breath. He was in this condition when his three cabinet ſecretaries preſented themſelves to tranſact buſineſs with him. On ſeeing them, the habit of his duties, and the deſire of fulfilling them, ſeemed to ſtimulate his endeavours to collect all his remaining force, and he made a ſign to them to wait, as if it had been his intention ſoon to call them. This effort was the laſt; for he ſoon after fell into a ſtate of ſtupor. At ten, general Rohdich came to aſk for the word; but the king remained in this ſituation till the evening, about which time, Engel, ſurgeon major of the firſt battalion of guards, touched his legs, which were cold up to the knees. During this operation, he heaved a ſigh, and  
put



put his finger to his mouth. The persons who were accustomed to serve him comprehended that he wanted some fennel water, which he generally drank of when he found himself weak. It was presented to him, and he tremblingly advanced both his hands and took the glass. Engel having retired behind the king towards the door of the antichamber, the king asked in a broken voice, *What does Engel think of my legs?* They answered that he had found them as before. At this reply, the king shook his head, as if to say that it was all over, and at the same time muttered a few words which nobody could comprehend. Some moments after he asked, *What o'clock it was?* and, on being answered that it was nine, he said, "*Well then, I am going to rest!*" His voice and his respiration became gradually more feeble, as it usually happens in the *senium Philippi*; and on Thursday the 17th of August, 19 minutes after two in the morning, his head fell on the stomach of M. Strizky, his servant, and he thus gave up his last breath, without any convulsion or other symptom of pain.

When this great prince expired, he had no person near him but Neumann and Schœning, two hussars of his chamber, and a few servants. In the antichamber were the baron de Hertzberg, his cabinet minister, (141) lieutenant-general Goertz, and the grand equerry, count Schwerin. During his whole illness no physician ever sat up with him; two servants only passed the night in his chamber, whom he treated with the greatest gentleness, was afraid of fatiguing them, and never suffered the slightest expression

sion of peevishness or impatience to escape him. When his oppression incommoded him, he called the servant who was near him with a low voice, for fear of awakening the persons asleep in the next room, and begged him to raise his head a little.

Frederick died in the sentiments of religion he had always professed throughout his life ; he remained true to his principles to his last breath, and discovered no emotion either of fear or anxiety. Some days before his death, he received a very singular German letter, of which the following is a translation :

“ SIRE !

“ Full of trembling and in the utmost fear of the  
 “ ALMIGHTY, I can no longer hinder myself from  
 “ presenting humbly to your majesty the greatest and  
 “ the most necessary of treasures, which surpasses all  
 “ others, and can alone render you happy : this treasure  
 “ is faith, which comes from GOD. Not the wisest  
 “ man can bestow it on himself ; GOD alone can. But,  
 “ your majesty’s great understanding will feel, that if  
 “ it be desirable to possess a thing of this importance,  
 “ and which will lead with certainty to eternal life, it  
 “ would be necessary to demand it of GOD by prayer,  
 “ good works, and the contemplation of the word of  
 “ GOD. Oh ! this assurance ! GOD the Father of  
 “ mercies will give it to your majesty, if you will acknowledge  
 “ the mediation of his SON JESUS CHRIST,  
 “ that mediation of love and charity ; if you will  
 “ adopt the sentiments of love, of charity, of holiness,  
 “ of this divine SAVIOUR, and sincerely desire to have  
 “ his

“his Holy Spirit for a guide. *A whole eternity!*  
“This, indeed, has the strongest claim to our at-  
“tention. We obtain the grace of God by humbling  
“ourselves like little children. “If you be not con-  
“verted,” says JESUS, “and become like little chil-  
“dren, you will not enter into the kingdom of Hea-  
“ven.” Then, what celestial light would your ma-  
“jesty not see shining in the words of JESUS and his  
“apostles, and in the futurity which awaits you!  
“Would the matter then be so difficult! “But to  
“God every thing is possible.” JESUS, *have pity on*  
“us! I am, with the most profound respect and  
“christian charity, &c.

“The plain Christian, O. F.”

After Frederick had read this letter, he returned it, saying, “*Give a polite answer to these people; their intention is good.*”

Such was the end of this great king, whose life had so much influence on his own dominions, on Germany, on all Europe.

Frederick, upon all occasions, anxious for the maintenance of his superiority, could not suffer any one to resist him; and, hence, arose the military government which he laboured to establish in his states from the commencement of his reign. The foundations of this government were laid by his father; Frederick fixed it on a solid basis, on an army, immense in proportion to his possessions, and whose presence seemed a continual menace for the people; on the mediocrity in which he took care to keep all orders of his subjects,



subjects, and the address with which he contrived that their whole welfare should depend on him. The imposts were very considerable, and one part of the money which they produced entered the king's treasury never to return, and was consequently lost to commerce and circulation: but Frederick bestowed a great number of pensions, and other bounties, on old soldiers, on the poor, on artists, and men of letters; he repaired all the losses occasioned by misfortunes; he built houses for individuals, and thus attached to his person the most laborious and most numerous class of the people; he gave a free education to the children of noble families in his school of cadets, or his military school; the nobility who were poor, and whom the weight of imposts prevented from ever becoming rich, had no other resource but the profession of arms; and the Prussian gentlemen vegetated, as it were, peaceably for ten or fifteen years in the rank of lieutenant, which produced them three or four and twenty shillings a month, waiting for what they called their fortune; that is to say, a company, worth about four or five hundred pounds a year in time of peace.

The king, in taking from his subjects with one hand, bestowed on them with the other a part of what he had taken, thus replenishing the source from whence he was to draw again. By these means, he threw a veil over the immensity of the imposts, procured himself the reputation of beneficence, and the wise distribution of those bounties ensured him love and benedictions in all the provinces of his dominions, among all conditions, in every town, in every village, in every hamlet,

hamlet. Every thing breathing, if we may use the expression, in Prussia, depended immediately on him: the gentleman, by the subsistence he derived from the army, and the fortune he expected from it, as well as by the succours he looked for from the prince for his estates, in times of dearth and calamity: the peasant, by the obligation of bearing arms, the rigour of which was done away by habit; by the resources he expected in his misfortunes; by the protection the king granted him against the lords, the ministers, and judges, whom he was glad to humble on these occasions. The soldier, who received but a trifling pay, and was rudely treated, still found, in the liberty of exercising all sorts of professions, trades, and commerce, a thousand motives for loving the king, and being attached to him. The people experienced continually fresh resources in the new manufactories established by Frederick, and supported by his bounty, and in the edifices he was constantly constructing. If Frederick was obliged, on the one hand, to wound his people, he knew, on the other, how to conciliate them by advantages which seemed to be of weight sufficient to stifle their complaints.

This thirst of unlimited sway contributed greatly to make him enter personally into all the details of administration. He was afraid of depending on a minister, and those he employed were men of moderate abilities, and in fact no other than his clerks. Persuaded as he was, that the general nature of affairs was sufficient to form such men, he seldom changed them but when he deemed it absolutely necessary. He has

even been known to chuse men who owed to him their incapacity for the place to which he destined them: "*It is enough to know how to obey,*" he replied; a speech which perfectly paints their relative situation under the monarch. The practice of reading all the letters transmitted to him by his subjects must have been attended with infinite trouble and disgust: but he by these means informed himself of every thing that was passing; kept all his ministers and men in office in greater awe than can ever prove the result of blind despotism, which strikes off heads from pure caprice; and he reserved to himself a thousand opportunities of gratifying his humour, by punishing them under the appearance of justice. No man in office dared to take the smallest step, to utter the least word, without the permission, the consent, the order of the king. When a cause was depending in a court of justice, the judges imagined the king might be informed of the decision; an idea which made them tremble, and had an influence on the sentence. When a minister assumed too high a tone to a peasant, the latter confidently put on his hat, and said, "*I will go and tell the king;*" and this liberty of telling every thing to the king seemed to lighten the burthen imposed on them for the king.

In order to maintain this dread in all the tribunals and colleges of justice, Frederick, from time to time, dismissed men in office, without examination, or assigning any reason for his conduct, and without the least appearance of any fault. In the affair of the miller Arnold, he dismissed Fürst, the chancellor, without



without any form of process ; and the baron de Borck, a man of infinite merit, at the head of the commercial department, received his discharge one day without ever being able to discover the cause of his disgrace. The king being at Magdebourg in 1785, and demanding of the president of the chamber some particulars relative to agriculture, one Putkammer, who was present, made himself the spokesman, and talked with a great deal of effrontery of what he did and what he did not know. The king, delighted with this babbler, turned out the president, who was an honest old man, incumbered with a large family, and put in his place this Putkammer, a natural son of the general of that name, and who had served chancellor Jarriges as a laquey. Many similar instances might be cited. Not but that Frederick was aware that this conduct might draw on him the reproach of despotism, but he had the art to conceal it all. When he dismissed a man in this way, the affair was soon stifled in the province, and there was no criticising it in the public papers. To destroy the impression it might produce, Frederick generally seized the first favourable opportunity of making a parade of justice and moderation. It was thus, that, after dismissing the chancellor Fürst, and instantly sending the other counselors concerned in that affair to Spandau, he only put Goern, his minister of state, accused of embezzling the cash of his department, under arrest in his own house, and made a point of rigorously observing all the forms before he sent him to that fortress. This conduct was

loudly extolled in the gazettes, and it is from gazettes that many histories are composed.

Thus did Frederick hold in continual awe every person employed in his service; thus did he opportunely humble them, by playing off one against the other, and himself remained the sole master. Hence it was that the people, in many respects, enjoyed a degree of liberty unknown in other states with a less despotic constitution. In some countries where liberty is still talked of, men are afraid of ministers, clerks in office, mistresses, and even their women. At Berlin the king alone was feared, and his ministers considered as mere instruments. But if this conduct gratified the ruling passion of the king, and was favourable to a sort of liberty unknown in other countries, it was attended, on the other hand, with inevitable inconveniencies. Placemen, who were, in general, without fortune, labouring under the perpetual dread of being ignominiously dismissed, whatever might be their attachment to their duty, whatever their age and length of service, could have no other object but to enrich themselves, or at least to amass a competency, in case of accident: they employed every sort of means, therefore, to attain this object; and there are so many methods of doing this which must necessarily escape the vigilance of the most active prince! Besides that their salaries were, in general, insufficient, and necessity obliged them to have recourse to other means. This gave rise to a continual state of warfare between this class of men and the people; not indeed an open war,

war, as in countries where the servants of government are despots, and the people their slaves; but a war of cunning and knavery, as at Sparta, where stealing was permitted, provided the robbery remained concealed. This evil was productive of others still more pernicious, by corrupting the tribunals and courts of justice, debasing their members, (142) and paving the way for irreparable disorders, when Prussia might be no longer governed by so philosophical a sovereign as Frederick the Second. Happily for his country, Frederick-William II. has felt this fundamental vice, which he labours to extirpate by conferring more consideration and fortune on the ministers of justice. May his noble intentions be followed by the most happy consequences!

This conduct of Frederick established among the inhabitants of Berlin a civil equality, which rendered the commerce of life exceedingly agreeable. This city afforded no examples of that insolence of office so ridiculous in the eyes of every man of sense. Ministers, who felt at bottom the small degree of power they possessed, strove to augment their consideration by affecting affable and popular manners; and, if some among them did display the quixotism of importance, ridicule, and, not unfrequently, contempt, soon restored them to the paths of reason. The women, who certainly did not govern, were far from assuming that tone of empire and disdain which deforms the most perfect beauty. Their endeavours were solely to please, and they neither mingled in intrigues, nor the ambition of command. The mili-



tary tone reigned even in love, and the facility of shaking off a peevish or culpable wife, rendered them mild, affable, and complaisant. There is not, in short, a country in the world where the women are better calculated to form the happiness of a man of worth. Every thing that has been said respecting the licentiousness of the women of Berlin, must be understood, as in almost every large town, of the highest and lowest classes, and this with a great many exceptions. Virtuous manners are as prevalent at Berlin, and perhaps more so than in any other great city: scenes of disorder rarely occur among the middling class of inhabitants, and seldom happen in the French colony, which is composed of upwards of ten thousand souls. It would seem as if the publicity allowed to prostitutes had led many strangers into this error; but it was this very publicity which constituted the safeguard of modest women. An officer who was permitted to keep two or three mistresses, provided he did not live with them, and who was besides under a necessity of employing several hours of the day in military duties, had little temptation to attempt carrying on intrigues in private houses; and the counsellor who resorted gravely in open day to courtezans, preferred the enjoyment of these easy pleasures, to a loss of time incompatible with his duties, and employed in impoverishing, and often dangerous affiduities. In general, love is not talked at Berlin, it is performed; and the girls and married women of a certain condition bring forward so many varied, agreeable, and unexpensive means of *doing* it, that a man must be a com-

complete dupe to play the part of a cicisbeo; a character become ridiculous from the manners of the country, and affording but a paltry recompense for the pains which it requires, and the restraints which it imposes. Berlin, therefore, is without those distinctions invented in other towns to gloss over real irregularities: there are but two classes, modest women and prostitutes; but the latter are not so despised here as in other countries; the nobles do not blush to sit on the same benches with them at the theatre, and they are openly protected by the government. (143)

Frederick conversed familiarly with men of every condition, and admitted men of letters to his table, without troubling himself about their birth; an example imitated by the nobility of Brandenburg, who have thrown off that rust of pride with which they were enveloped, as in other countries of Germany: they think no more of the quartering of their coat of arms, but are happy to communicate with men of merit; unable to become their patrons, they endeavour to enter with them into a state of friendship; they admit them to their familiarity and amusements, and thus acquire information, wit, taste, knowledge, and an attachment to the pleasures of social life. We may safely assert that the nobility of Brandenburg are the most amiable and affable in all Germany. The queen dowager, prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and prince Frederick of Brunswick, and the principal ministers and noblemen of the court, admit literati, and other men of merit, to their table, not as retainers

whom they hold out as objects of ostentation, but as agreeable and useful guests whose society and intelligence they know how to appreciate. The abbé Raynal passed many months among the princes of the blood, and even princesses accepted breakfasts in his chamber. Thus did the taste for arts and sciences introduce itself into the first class of society, whence it was presently diffused among those who make it their glory to imitate their superiors.

Frederick's love for study, and his principles respecting toleration, have extended information in his states. The habit of constraint in any object accustoms the mind to confine itself within narrow limits, and to remain attached to its ancient opinions without inquiring whether they are useful or injurious, reasonable or fanatic; and this is one of the greatest impediments to the progress of enlightened knowledge. The revolutions accomplished by Frederick in this respect, at the commencement of his reign, powerfully removed these obstacles. He gave his subjects the liberty of thinking, speaking, reading, and writing, whatever they thought proper, and they ventured to exert their powers, and began to lift up the veil of superstition.

In speaking of the progress of information in a country, it is natural to enquire, whether the ideas of the inhabitants on several objects important to human life, are more just, clearer, and better developed, and whether those ideas are diffused among a greater number of individuals, in proportion to the population, than heretofore. Knowledge of this sort is not what  
may



may properly be termed erudition; there are book-worms and learned men by no means enlightened, and whose science is wholly useless to society. Science occupies the memory more than the understanding, and, as taught in Germany, consists almost entirely in a certain quantity of ideas subject to certain forms. It fills the head with speculative deductions, but the judgment is little formed by it; it has but a feeble tendency to excite the will to an active utility in the affairs of society and life. The universities established in ages when barbarism still prevailed, retain at this day in Germany traces of their origin, and have nearly the same constitutions as incorporated trades: in them, we find apprentices under the name of scholars; brethren, or companions, under that of students; masters, under that of *magister*, licentiates, doctors, &c. In all these degrees, as in companies of shoemakers or tailors, statutes and forms are to be observed: one person is received a master in the one, when the hand has acquired a certain facility in shaping a coat, or finishing a heel; another is admitted doctor in the university as soon as the memory is stored with a certain quantity of dogmatical, systematical, and academical ideas. Thus do they create doctors in theology, law, and medicine, nay even what we call school philosophers. But, all these sciences, as taught in universities, have scarcely any influence on the mass of knowledge of a nation, and they appear to be purposely detached from all the objects of common life. To conduct themselves in the important transactions of this world, men stand less in need of

of speculative ideas, than of that exercised good sense which always leads them to adopt the best and surest measures.

When I say, then, that enlightened knowledge made a great progress in the Prussian states under the reign of Frederick, I do not mean that there was a greater number of universities; for, this progress is almost uniformly coeval with the periods in which men have shaken off their yoke, and the forms prescribed by them: I do not say that there appeared in that country a greater number of scholastic works on theology, jurisprudence, medicine, or metaphysics: I adduce, on the contrary, as a proof of the progress of information, the decline of the universities, the ridicule which attends their forms, and the general contempt into which all scholastic productions have fallen, as well as their authors. Men have made no inconsiderable progress in reason and enlightened knowledge, when they feel that the difference of religious usages and opinions ought by no means to break the bands of society, or make us hate those fellow-creatures whom nature has commanded us to love. Before the reign of Frederick, priests of different creeds formed parties, multiplied disputes, and with them that bitterness and those hatreds which are the inevitable consequences. Frederick tolerated all sects and all opinions; and in Prussia men no longer think of disputing, of hating, or of persecuting each other. While, in other countries, laws were necessary to impose a rigorous silence on theologians, this silence was a natural consequence in the dominions of a king philosopher,

philosopher, who had the prudence never to meddle with religious differences. Polemical theology in Prussia fell of itself into a contempt from which it would be difficult to raise it; and it is a still more extraordinary fact that this royal philosopher succeeded in recalling to reason and liberality the greatest part of the clergy of his nation.

The efforts made by Frederick to reform the courts of justice, however unsuccessful, have produced the effect of giving a new direction to men's minds in that branch so interesting to human happiness: the odious art of chicanery, one of the most fatal scourges that ever afflicted the human race, has ceased to be cultivated and held in estimation; forms are less attended to than the substance; men's minds have taken a general turn towards the paths of truth; there is less erudition, and more reason; there are fewer pedantic civilians, and more philosophic lawyers; fewer scholastic treatises and commentaries, and more works dictated by the love of humanity and justice: that barbarous usage, above all, which still prevails in the rest of Germany, is here abolished, of writing in Latin on subjects which the people are the most interested in knowing, and on which depend the lives, the liberty, and the safety, of the citizens.

The same revolution has taken place in medicine; systematical erudition has been banished from that science, and its professors attach themselves more to observation, the study of the human body, practice, and anatomy. It was with this view that Frederick founded colleges of medicine at Berlin, Breslaw, and other



other places, particularly instituted in favour of anatomical demonstrations and obstetrical instructions; and, in order more generally to promulgate the increase of knowledge arising from these institutions, all the observations, remedies, and methods, of approved efficacy, were printed in the news-papers of the country. All these publications were in German, and the art of healing, hitherto enveloped in the mysterious veil of the Greek language, has gradually laid it aside, and no longer presents a collection of ænigmas to men obliged by profession to exercise it without being acquainted with that language. It cannot be denied, however, that empirics do sometimes appear at Berlin, who boast of being able to cure with secret specifics; but these men do not get rich here as in other countries which enjoy the reputation of being more enlightened: their reputation is only momentary among the populace; and if the ladies, who consult the quack pretending to cure by the inspection of the moon, would but say the truth, we should find that the pleasure of an agreeable airing, and of seeing their lovers at the pretended doctor's, were their real motives, and not any confidence in the skill of the impostor. While magnetism, somnambulism, and other absurdities of the same nature, with which the present age is overrun, circulate with unmerited reputation in other parts of Germany, every person laughs at them at Berlin, and poor Mesmer would have died with hunger in that city, had he not proved himself as complaisant as the doctor of the moon. But a barrier is likewise opposed to the credulity of the populace and the

the knavery of quacks; they are now prohibited from distributing their remedies, unless previously examined and approved by the colleges of medicine, who suffer them freely to take their course when they can do no harm.

This general tendency of men's minds towards experimental truths and objects of real utility, has communicated itself to every class of citizens, to all professions and conditions. Less has been written in the Prussian states than other countries on abstract and speculative matters, but more on political œconomy, police, agriculture, trade and manufactures, education, and civil and religious toleration: in a word, the Prussians of the present day imitate the English, who have diffused the light of philosophy over every thing necessary to the intercourse of life. (144)

The country gentleman, the curate, the bailiff, the peasant, and the monk, all study agriculture, and make experiments; all endeavour to attract the king's attention to their lands, and to merit his commendations and rewards.

Frederick's taste for French poetry and literature has given rise, indeed, to a quantity of wretched performances in that language, but it has, likewise, propagated among the wealthier class the best French authors of every kind. The German nobility and men of letters have acquired the habit of that purity and elegance which constitute the chief merit of the master-pieces in the French language; which qualities have had an influence on the national language; for every

every German of candour acknowledges, that it is to French productions that their authors in a great measure owe the good style of writing adopted on the banks of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Sprey, as yet totally unknown in the countries on the Danube, the Neckar, and the Rhine, though some of these provinces border upon France.

Simplicity reigned around the person of Frederick, in his manners, in society, in entertainments, and in dress; and this simplicity passed from his palace to the city, from the city into the provinces. At Berlin it was far from being usual to see those little bedizened figures of men, whose accoutrement changes every month, like milliners dolls; few of those women loaded with trinkets, whose dress is calculated to hide their beauty: the men pay little attention to dress, and the women, who have the art of giving an elegant turn to the most simple stuffs, catch the true point of adjustment to set off their charms, without smothering or destroying them. Esteem is not attached to dress, but merit; and an honest man in a plain frock has nothing to apprehend from the disdain of an embroidered coxcomb. Their repasts are not sumptuous; the chief pleasure in them is society, which at Berlin is delicious from its amenity and facility of access. Every person, after the example of Frederick, devoted his time to useful pursuits, and his pleasures were but recreations and relaxations. Though Frederick loved the belles lettres and the arts, he did not think it proper to suffer them to make too much progress in



in a new state founded by arms and military discipline, and which could not, during any subsequent length of time, support itself but by the same means.

The love of the arts of pure amusement cannot prevail to any useful purpose in a state, until it has acquired the degree of consistence and stability which supports it by its own weight, and renders it formidable to its neighbours, instead of having any thing to fear from them. In a government purely military, where the state inclines to ruin if the citizen loses his taste for arms, it is necessary to shut up all the passages to luxury and effeminacy, which enervate the courage and enfeeble the body. Hence Frederick's attention to inspire the love of activity, sobriety, and labour; hence the care he took not to introduce into his academy men of too brilliant a genius; hence his affected indifference, throughout his states, for those who only cultivated the belles lettres, or arts of pure amusement. Never did the academy of Berlin produce a tolerable poem; yet, several great men have started up as natural philosophers and mathematicians, but not one in the class of belles lettres, since Frederick took upon himself the nomination of the members. The Germans of merit whom he placed in his academy, were natural philosophers, astronomers, anatomists, botanists, and natural historians, these sciences being intimately connected with useful objects, and having an immediate relation to the activity and general industry of the citizens: such were Bode, Gleditsch, Walter, Schultze, and Gehrard: but he never would receive Mendelsohn, whose works consisted only of metaphysical

metaphysical speculations ; nor Ramler, who composed nothing but odes, and other amusing works ; nor Engel, who strove to perfect the language and the theatre of the nation.

There were good artists at Berlin, but they received only moderate encouragement from the king. Rode, whose historical paintings are grand and beautiful ; Madame Theerbousch, whose pictures have so much truth ; Frisch, who unites the brilliancy of colouring to the graces of design and disposition, were but little employed by Frederick ; and if the latter enjoys a moderate pension of 600 crowns, he is less indebted for it to the king as the reward of his talents, than to the friendship of the marquis d'Argens. Frederick seemed to hold sculpture in greater estimation, because he wanted to decorate his palaces and gardens, and to honour his celebrated warriors by statues, which are less costly and more flattering than any other mode of recompense : nevertheless, Balthazar Adam, whom he sent for from Paris, retired dissatisfied before he had finished the statue of marshal Schwerin ; and Tassaert, a sculptor of distinguished talents, only executed two statues in the course of ten or twelve years, though the king had promised to give him one to finish every year. If nature has produced a few good artists in Frederick's dominions, they were obliged to seek in foreign countries that consideration and fortune which they could not find at home. Madame Casc, an excellent portrait painter, and Thienpondt, a pupil of Pesne, retired to the court of Dresden ; the two celebrated Hackerts live in Italy ; Harper, a  
good

good landscape painter, is in the service of the duke of Wirtemberg; and Laurenz, the engraver, preferred Vienna to Berlin. Since the celebrated Schmidt, Berlin has not seen a good engraver; those who lived there towards the end of the reign of Frederick, were obliged to drudge at vignettes for German books, to procure a subsistence.

The influence of Frederick's example soon manifested itself on the other states of Germany. Fame conveyed the praises of this great man from one end of Europe to the other; and his neighbours, seeing how a state, which nature seemed to have destined to mediocrity, might be carried to the highest pitch of power and glory, by activity, courage, and perseverance, anxiously strove to imitate him. At this period the courts of Germany in general had no other method of distinguishing themselves but by covering with lace their courtiers and attendants, by maintaining troops of dancers and packs of hounds, by presenting pompous spectacles, and giving ruinous entertainments, and by exhausting the cultivator to enrich knavish and insolent ministers. Frederick's example taught them, that the true grandeur of a prince consists in performing all his duties, in labouring with indefatigable ardour to establish the happiness of his subjects, and to introduce the eye of vigilance and the hand of industry into every branch of administration. They presently threw aside that idle pomp which destroys without ever being productive; they directed their attention to soldiers, population, legislation, finances, and agriculture; toleration, which unites men,



gradually insinuated itself into those hearts which fanaticism had attempted to corrupt; they preferred that kindness and affability which make princes adored, to that preposterous pride which draws down upon them the hatred of subjects, the contempt of foreigners, and the pity of philosophers. Since that period, Germany has observed her princes, on all sides, incessantly occupied in great objects of administration. In Austria, the army profited by the weighty lessons they had received from Frederick, and, by assuming a new form, and keeping up constant exercise, became worthy of their rivals. By the assiduity of an indefatigable prince, the finances of the state revive from ruin, population is augmented, agriculture encouraged, and fanaticism restores to reason what she had ravished from stupidity. Saxony blushes at the vain profusions of her sovereigns and ministers, and exerts herself to become extricated from the miseries into which she was plunged by these disorders. At Brunswick, a prince endued with talents and with virtues, seems to perpetuate among the Germans the image of the great Frederick. At Dessau, a worthy successor of the hero who formed the Prussian cavalry, becomes the model of all good sovereigns: altars would be erected to him, had not philosophy substituted a more flattering recompense to those idle demonstrations so often lavished by slavery on tyrants: he has more; he possesses the love and admiration of every thing breathing in his country, and of all strangers who have heard the narrative of his virtues. In Wirtemberg, luxury gives way to a taste for simplicity, agriculture,  
and

and useful institutions: an academy, perhaps the only one of the kind, combines, at great expence, and with the greatest brilliancy, every branch of education and instruction; and the worthy founder of this establishment, takes from his private revenues the means of forming enlightened citizens and men of real utility.

And of what influence has not the reign of Frederick been on the constitution of the Germanic body, and thence on the balance of all Europe? To the conquest of Silesia the king was, unquestionably, excited by the ardent ambition of creating to himself a great name, and the deep impression which had remained upon his mind in consequence of the injuries committed by the house of Austria on that of Brandenburg; but the ground once occupied was to be maintained, and Frederick maintained it like a hero. The partition of Poland was not the offspring of his ambition; but he could not with indifference behold his powerful neighbours divide the provinces of that kingdom, and policy compelled him to enter into their views. In other respects, he laboured incessantly to maintain the equilibrium and constitution of the empire. He had the greatest influence in the diets, in the college of electors, and with the body of protestants, and, far from taking an advantage of this preponderance to aggrandize himself at the expence of feeble states, he directed the joint deliberations only to the common good, and uniformly appeared the friend of the country, the protector of the constitution, and the defender of the liberty of the inferior princes.

princes. Policy, in fact, seems to excuse his projects of aggrandizement; and the talents of Joseph II. combined with the ancient ideas of the ambition of the house of Austria, made all the states of the empire tremble, on seeing that prince on the point of adding to his possessions the vast electorate of Bavaria. Frederick, without any other views than the general welfare of the country, with no other interest but that of justice, opposed his invincible buckler to this formidable enterprize, and the fears of Germany were appeased. The battles of Chotusitz, of Friedberg, of Rosbach, and of Leuthen, are, undoubtedly, more brilliant, but the campaign of 1778 gained him the love and gratitude of all Germany. Germany trembled for his days, at the approach of death, and has bestowed the tribute of unfeigned tears upon his tomb. The articles of the peace of Teschen, which secure the liberty of Germany, by his firmness and attention have become a law of the empire; and the Bavarian succession, founded on the ancient feudal law, and on family compacts, confirmed by the Golden Bull, and ascertained by the peace of Westphalia, is established by that of Teschen on such solid foundations, that no change in it can be now effected without the general consent of the states, as well as that of France and Russia; nor can the Low Countries, by other treaties, change masters, without the consent of Holland and of England.

The project of exchanging Bavaria for the Low Countries was meditated a century ago, and proposed to the court of Madrid by the emperor Leopold.

Frede-



Frederick did not, then, exist; but, fortunately for Germany, a foreign power interfered; Louis XIV. felt all the danger of this rounding of the Austrian states, and the project was laid aside. Under the reign of Frederick, Germany found in her own bosom a defender of her safety, and Europe beheld him, also, as such, in Germany. For Bavaria is a wall of separation between France and Austria, and a rampart which defends all Upper Germany against the ambitious projects of the house of Austria. Were that to fall, France would see her most dangerous neighbour extend himself towards her frontiers, and the interior circles of the empire lie at the mercy of that house. When this matter was again in agitation in later times, the powers suspected of the project denied that they had ever thought of it. Frederick, therefore, unable to take up arms with any appearance of justice, had recourse to another method, and formed the German confederation. This league is directed against no particular person, but has for its sole object the legitimate maintenance of the constitution of the empire; nor is it relative to any determinate enterprize, but in the supposed cases of danger to that constitution. Austria has endeavoured to paint this association in the blackest and most odious colours; but, besides that it is amply justified by the sacred laws of the empire, and, above all, by the treaty of Westphalia and the Imperial capitulation, it is perfectly conformable to the constant usage of the empire, the history of which affords the example of numerous confederacies of the same, and even of a very different nature;

for we there see the princes of Germany leagued, no less than forty-seven times, with France against ambitious enterprizes which threatened the constitution of the empire. This last work of Frederick, completed at the termination of his life, for the security of Germany and Europe, will entitle him, doubtless, to the gratitude of posterity, as it has justly procured him the love of his contemporaries. But, let not the members of this league totally rely on the safety which it procures them: they must reflect, at the same time, that vigilance and activity are necessary to maintain it! May they feel, from the multitude of examples offered them by history, that, though the force of arms is rarely able to break such an union, its springs are soon relaxed by negligence and inactivity!

These were not the only lessons which Frederick gave to Europe. The comparative inadequacy of his means and the boldness of his undertakings, the extremity to which he was sometimes reduced and his miraculous resources, taught sovereigns that no enemy is contemptible who unites intrepidity with knowledge, and, in time of peace, knows how to concentrate every part of his resources in the mass of his military forces. The immense sums, the rivers of blood which it cost to oppose the enterprizes of this prince, whose first propositions were rejected with contempt and arrogance, taught other powers to calculate, before they undertook wars, the dreadful disasters which they occasion, and to foresee the enormity of the wounds which they give to the very states who rejoice in a

tempo-

temporary success. The immense army which he contrived to maintain in time of peace, in a country which it seemed calculated to absorb, gave birth to other armies as immense in the service of other powers. The means of attack and defence are augmented. Those masses of military force which mutually observe and dread each other, by presenting equal means of shock and of resistance, reciprocally curb their premeditated enterprizes, and seem to conduct Europe to that desirable state of peace, which may, at length, obliterate the rage for war which for so many centuries has disgraced humanity. Those states which from negligence or weakness have not had the precaution to adopt the same measures, will undoubtedly be one day swallowed up by these leading powers, or, rather, pass peaceably under their dominion; Europe will form only one great republic composed of a few large states, whose hatreds and jealousies will cease to produce any but slight and momentary shocks, and the nations will at length begin to breathe.

It is alledged that great armies tend to the destruction of the liberty of nations; but Frederick has demonstrated that they cannot be maintained without protecting husbandmen and workmen, who form the most valuable portion of the people, and without labouring incessantly to augment all the resources of industry and subsistence. Peace, likewise, naturally turns men's minds to ideas of reform; and enlightened knowledge, which is daily gaining ground, points out to sovereigns their true interests, whilst opinion, more powerful than arms, is insensibly undermining the



monstrous edifice elevated by despotism in the days of darkness.

It is, also, to Frederick that we owe in some measure the happy progress of information in the present age. Philosophy, too frequently constrained to struggle in obscurity, has, at length, promulgated her beneficent opinions from a throne, and given to the world the interesting example of the most brilliant and most glorious reign. We have experienced, that certain opinions, on which it long seemed dangerous to touch, though they constituted the wretchedness of the human race, might be made to bend under the application of simple and natural means; the sceptre of fanaticism is broken without effort in countries on which it pressed the heaviest during the course of many centuries; and whole nations have shaken off at least the most disgraceful of their fetters.

Frederick's efforts to bestow on his people the blessing of a jurisprudence dictated by humanity and reason, have conveyed their happy influence even to southern climes. On all sides mankind are ardently employed in reforming codes, odious laws, and barbarous constitutions; the torture has disappeared from every tribunal, blood flows less upon the scaffold, and in some countries it has ceased to flow. To correct and to amend are more the objects of research, than punishment and vengeance. The value of men is better understood, and governments, feeling that humiliation and a total neglect engender the greatest part of crimes, pay more attention to the education, the subsistence, and welfare of the citizens. These efforts,

efforts, indeed, have not yet produced the happy revolution to be expected from them, but they have set the mind afloat. Justice, rectitude, and truth, are the objects of general research, and, by dint of feeling, there is every reason to believe they will be at length discovered.

Let me, now, close these remarks with only one sentiment which may be considered as the result of the whole history: *Frederick lived and died the happiest and most glorious of kings. What more is necessary to engage all sovereigns to imitate his example?*

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## OBSERVATIONS, &c.

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(1) **S**UCH are Freistadt, Parschwitz, Polkwitz, Rauden, Hernnstadt, Gurau, Winzig, Jauer, Neumarkt, Freibourg, Ratibor, Hainau, &c.

(2) These expences did not prevent the king from laying out still more considerable sums in the capitals and other towns of his provinces: such, for instance, was the expence of building the new palace at Potzdam, of a new military school, a school for the cadets, the new library, bridges, squares, and whole streets, the houses of which resemble palaces. It was at the same time that he constructed causeways, and formed canals to drain marshes of several miles extent, in the vicinity of the Warta; it was at the same period that he was building new villages in all his provinces. Exclusive of all this, he maintained a magnificent guard of 2000 men, an academy of sciences, an Italian opera, a French theatre, a chapel, and a superb military school; it was at this very period, also, that he purchased high-priced paintings, and antique stones, cameos, &c.

(3) A cursory view of the state of Silesia under the reign of the house of Austria, will enable us better to appreciate Frederick's operations in that province.

The duchy of Silesia and county of Glatz, forming the  
country



country which extends along both banks of the Oder, from the mountains of Hungary to the conflux of the Bober, is bounded by Poland, on the east; the principality of Teschen, and the Krapatian hills, on the south; to the west are Bohemia and Lusatia; and to the north, the marche of Brandenburg. It is 45 German miles in length, by 20 wide and consequently contains 900 German, or 5400 English miles square. Let us deduct from this surface 100 square miles of water, mountains, and other uninhabitable parts, and 800 German square miles fit for dwellings and cultivation will remain. Two thousand men may subsist on a square mile of ground, when they cultivate it themselves, and, consequently, 1,600,000 on 800 miles. By the church registers it appears that 36,000 men die, *communibus annis*, in Silesia; and, according to Susmilch, one person in 38. From this comparison, Silesia and the county of Glatz contain only 1,368,000 inhabitants, and, consequently, there is still room for 232,000 colonists.

In ancient times, Silesia was much more extensive on every side. It contained the principality of Teschen, Aufschwitz, and another part of Poland and Brandenburg, as far as the Warta. Silesia formed, during that æra, a part of Poland, and was subject to the sovereigns of that country.

In 1104, it was separated from Poland, and became governed by its own dukes.

At the beginning of the 14th century, these dukes submitted themselves and their possessions to the kings of Bohemia, and acknowledged themselves to be their vassals.

In 1474, Matthias, king of Hungary, acquired Silesia by arms and treaties.

In 1526, it passed under the dominion of the house of Austria, with Bohemia and Hungary.

We have seen how it fell into the hands of Prussia.

Ferdinand, son of Maximilian I. brother of Charles V. was the first prince of the house of Austria who possessed Silesia.

At

At this time, the reformation of Luther threw all Germany into confusion. Ferdinand, who disputed the throne of Hungary with John of Zapolia, supported by Soliman, was obliged, for some time, to dissemble; but no sooner had he formed a treaty which afforded him some relaxation, than he availed himself of it to persecute the protestants. He demanded money and soldiers of Silesia, to make war against the protestants of Germany, and united himself to his brother Charles V. to gratify the passion of the pope, who wished to root up the new doctrine and to exterminate its adherents: Silesia, which had received a solemn promise of preserving all its privileges, found this demand extremely harsh, but whilst it promised every thing, it granted as little, and this, as tardily as possible. Ferdinand made the Silesians repent of this procedure: he condemned those who had refused to contribute to heavy penalties, and exacted these penalties with the utmost rigour. Breslaw was obliged to pay 80,000 crowns, and to submit to a perpetual tax on beer, for not having celebrated with public rejoicings the victory of Charles V. over the elector of Saxony at Mulberg.

This prince laboured with zeal to weaken the privileges of the Lutheran states, and to break their connections with the German princes of the same faith. The margrave George lost the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor, to which he was entitled after the death of the last duke John, by virtue of a family-compact with that prince. He had already received the homage of the states, when Ferdinand declared the compact null, and *took possession of the principalities.*

A family-covenant concluded between Frederick II. duke of Lignitz, and Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, excited also Ferdinand's attention. He compelled the states of Bohemia to declare it void, though Uladitlaus and Louis, kings of Bohemia, had consented to it. But to this reason were opposed the ordinances confirmed by the same kings, prohibiting the alienation of any part of Bohemia; and this reason appeared

appeared satisfactory to a tribunal where Ferdinand was at once the judge and party.

Frederick was constrained to renounce this compact, under his hand; but he again confirmed it by his testament. Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, protested against this sentence, and nothing was wanting to this formality but the force of arms to give it weight.

Ferdinand assiduously laboured to destroy many of the rights and privileges of this province. After the death of George, duke of Jægerndorf, he took upon himself the guardianship of his son George-Frederick, to the exclusion of Albert, margrave of Anspach, who was named in his father's will.

Frederick II. of Lignitz dying in 1547, Frederick III. his son, who had displeased Ferdinand, was deprived of his states for seven years, and was only put in possession of them at the expence of his rights and privileges. Frederick, incensed at this treatment, excited troubles; but Ferdinand confined him at Breslaw, and gave the duchy to his son, Frederick IV. Ferdinand died; and though he had trampled on the Silesians, destroyed the liberty of the princes and states, and extended the limits of the sovereign authority, yet was he extolled after his death by all the historians, for no other reason, but because he did not *openly* persecute the protestants: toleration stood him in stead of every other virtue; it threw his despotism into the shade.

Maximilian II. (1564,) who succeeded his father Ferdinand in the possession of Silesia, shewed that province no better treatment. He exhausted it of men and money to provide for his perpetual wars with the Turks, and extended his authority at the expence of the liberty of the princes and states.

Rodolph II. son of Maximilian, (1576,) began his reign by demanding of Silesia arrears of taxes to the amount of 200,000 crowns. This prince, wholly given to natural

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philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, left the government of his provinces to ministers who plundered them. The court of Rome seized this opportunity of establishing its authority in Silesia. The Protestants were persecuted, and a colony of Jesuits appeared to blow up the flames of persecution, intolerance, and hatred. This conduct divided the two religions, and sowed the seeds of those continual wars which have desolated the Austrian states since the commencement of the seventeenth century. The Protestants, persecuted by the governors, and abandoned by their sovereign, united themselves with the discontented Utraquists and Protestants of Bohemia.

Matthias, brother of Rodolphus, less tolerant and more despotic than the latter, did violence to his natural character to alienate his brother's subjects from him. He gained the Protestants by a pretended toleration, and thus carried off from his brother, Hungary, Austria, Moravia, and Lusatia. Alarmed at these circumstances, Rodolph, who was afraid of losing Silesia likewise, lost no time in granting liberty of religion to the inhabitants of that province.

He made them pay, however, for this necessary toleration, and obliged the Silesians to give him 300,000 crowns as a consideration, and to receive the Gregorian calendar. The Silesians paid the money, and preferred submitting to the pope in matters of astronomy rather than of religion.

In the space of nine years, the contributions of Silesia amounted to five millions of florins, besides men for the unhappy wars of Hungary.

Matthias, who mounted the throne in 1611, received from the Silesians a free gift of a ton of gold. This prince was not so politic on the throne as he had shewn himself artful in attaining it. He was intolerant, and renewed the ancient wars and misfortunes. The conduct of this prince kindled the spark which lighted up the unfortunate war of 30 years.

The Silesians, dissatisfied with Ferdinand II. successor of

Matthias, (1619) had acceded to the election made by the revolted Bohemians of Frederick V. Elector Palatine. Ferdinand was successful, and consequently the Silesians were in the wrong. It cost them three tons of gold to obtain their pardon and the liberty of thinking for themselves. They were compelled, likewise, to maintain some regiments for the service of the emperor.

Nor was this liberty of thought accorded but from the necessity of the times. Ferdinand, having no longer any thing to fear, abandoned himself to his disposition for civil and religious despotism. Of his own authority he bestowed on his son Ferdinand the principalities of Schweidnitz, Jauer, Oppeln, and Ratibor; Glatz on the archduke Leopold; Jägerndorf he gave to Lichtenstein, his zealous partisan; and Glogau and Sagan to Wallerstein, one of his generals.

He declared the Silesian Protestants rebels, and consequently stripped of their religious rights, which had been secured to them by the letters of their princes, and by the treaty of Saxony. A semblance of right was given to this conduct, and it was called *the sovereign right of reformation*. The execution of this pretended right was entrusted to the priests and soldiers, who flew on every side to force the Protestants to go to mass, and destroy all their churches. In a few years, scarcely one single person dared to avow himself a Protestant in Silesia; and such as had the courage or imprudence to stand forth were deprived of almost all the rights of civil society. A multitude of useful and laborious inhabitants quitted the province, and sought for liberty and protection in other countries.

It was at this period (1630) that Gustavus-Adolphus appeared in Germany to support the Protestant princes. Amid the horrors of this war, the Silesians were alternately the victims of both parties, harrassed, perhaps, more by their own sovereigns than by their enemies.

Tired

Tired of a neutrality which procured them no consideration from the Imperial troops, the Silesians ranged themselves on the side of those whom they thought capable of defending and maintaining them. This conduct irritated the Imperial court, who yet could only blame themselves that it had taken place. The Silesians were declared rebels, and the Imperial soldiers spared them less than ever. When the treaty of Nordlingue (1643) was concluded, the Silesians were included in it, but in such a way as to leave them exposed to all the vengeance of their sovereign. Some towns were obliged to ask pardon of the emperor, to offer him new homage, to renounce all foreign alliances, and to admit an Imperial garrison. In return for this, they were promised a pardon and liberty of religion; but the remainder of the province was abandoned to the emperor, on whose arbitrary discretion depended their liberty and pardon. Silesia lost nearly all her rights.

Ferdinand III. (1637) had such a contempt for the Silesians that he disdained going into that country to receive homage. This prince ordered the states to do him homage at Prague and at Vienna.

The war still continued, and the Swedes were still in Silesia. The Silesians, taught by misfortune, no longer dared to join them. The Swedes, however, forced them to pay contributions, which were afterwards punished by the Imperialists as acts of treason and rebellion. These horrors spread despair throughout the province. When the Imperialists besieged Hirschberg, the inhabitants of that town, to escape from their vengeance, abandoned their dwellings and their country, and followed the Swedish garrison in their retreat; and the Austrians only found, in this once flourishing and populous place, empty houses and eight Catholic families.

During the whole war of thirty years, Silesia was constantly ravaged, pillaged, and laid waste, either by the Swedes, the Imperialists, or other troops.



Silesia was comprised in the treaty of Westphalia. The liberty of religion felt some checks on the part of the emperor, and he reserved the *right of reformation*.

The moment the Swedes had quitted Silesia, the oppressions were renewed, and the pretended right of reformation took a stronger form of opposition to the promised liberty.

This pretended reformation, or rather Catholic persecution of the Protestants, lasted till the death of Ferdinand III. It was at once so barbarous and impolitic, that whole troops of laborious Protestants abandoned the country, and caused an irreparable loss to a province already depopulated by the war.

Leopold, who has been called the Great, was emperor at the age of eighteen (1657). He made Silesia feel, during a reign of 50 years, the burthen of every impost he could draw from it. In a few years, the province, which was obliged to pay for its safety and defence, was taxed, likewise, the tenth part of the value of the lands. These lands were then estimated at eight millions of crowns on the survey.

During the war between Poland and Sweden, Leopold sent an army of 16,000 men, under count Hatzfeld, to the succour of the Poles. These troops, who were chiefly maintained by Silesia, conquered Cracow, prevailed over the Swedes, and procured the peace of Oliva in 1660.

In 1663, when the Turks overran Hungary, and advanced as far as Olmutz, in Moravia, the Silesians raised, at their own expence, a corps of 6000 foot and 1000 horse. The number of inhabitants then fit to bear arms amounted to 193,300. Taking this number as a fourth of the population, Silesia contained at that time but 773,200 souls.

In 1674, defensive preparations were re-commenced against the Swedes, who were defeated at the battle of Ferbellin by the troops of the Great Elector, Frederick-William. The troops of Leopold who were at this battle consisted of 1500 men from Silesia.

In 1683, when the grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, advanced with

with 200,000 men to the gates of Vienna, Silesia, which was drawn into great expences to provide for its own security, was again obliged to pay great part of the Polish troops led by Sobieski to the relief of Vienna, and which passed through that province.

The race of Piasts became extinct in Silesia in 1675, and with it the remaining prerogatives and liberties of the dukes. The princes and dukes, henceforward, possessed nothing but the name.

Joseph I. who unfortunately reigned but six years, governed his states on principles of wisdom and toleration. He wished to hide from his subjects the afflicting sight of the imposts he was compelled to levy on them, and with this view established the excise in Silesia.

Happiness was the effect of his prudence, as wretchedness had been that of the despotism of his predecessors. He died in 1711.

To him succeeded Charles VI. Under his reign, the contributions paid by the Silesians amounted to a million of crowns yearly; yet, in latter years, the province had been impoverished by inundations, dearths, famine, and epidemical disorders. He required the province to acknowledge the pragmatic sanction. This prince died in 1740, and with him terminated the series of sovereigns of the house of Austria to whom Silesia had belonged for 214 years.

In the monuments of this period, we find nothing but the language of circumspection and constraint; the fatal effects of a despotic government. This is more particularly to be remarked in the declaration by which the princes and states of Silesia acceded to the pragmatic sanction. "As experience," they observe, "has taught the princes and the states that Silesia never can be happier than under the mild and moderate government of the house of Austria, &c." In thus expressing themselves, they had, doubtless, forgotten the reigns of Ferdinand and Leopold. A little more mildness

and toleration than that to which they had been accustomed, made the Silesians forget the tyranny under which they had so long groaned. Joseph and Charles VI. had permitted no religious persecution; under their reigns the province enjoyed both external and internal repose. Silesia began to breathe; she forgot her miseries, and looked only to the present advantages she derived from the protection of the house of Austria.

That the imposts might be distributed in a just proportion, the province made an estimate of all property liable to the payment of taxes. According to this survey, the value of the landed property amounted, in 1551, to 7,763,045 crowns. Under the reigns of Maximilian and Rodolph, the ordinary, and in fact the annual, impost, amounted, in general, to 12 crowns on 1000 of the value of the property; under the emperor Matthias, it rose to about from 20 to 30 on 1000; and under Ferdinand II. as high as 100 and upwards on 1000.

The imposts drawn by Leopold from the province towards the end of the preceding century, amounted annually to one million and a half of crowns, and in 1740 Charles VI. received from it two millions.

The excise was established, not only in the towns, but also in the country. It was intended as a substitute for every other tax, and to constitute one exclusive impost. But, the produce was neither sufficient nor certain; so that the taxes on the lands were not only suffered to subside, but a fresh one was laid on the property of the towns.

The domanial revenues in Silesia, such as tolls, stamps, coinage, mines, monopolies of salt and tobacco, the revenues of the domanial lands, &c. amounted to about half as much as the ordinary imposts. The court had appropriated to itself the exclusive commerce of salt, which produced 15,000 crowns. At that time 140,000 quintals of salt were consumed; at this day there is a demand for 200,000, besides  
what



what is smuggled, and, consequently, an increase of 60,000 quintals; which proves that the number of consumers is augmented about one half.

The last sovereigns of the house of Austria drew, annually, therefore, upwards of two millions and a half of crowns from Silesia. With order and exactness one half of this sum would have sufficed for all the wants of the province. In peace there were hardly 2000 soldiers, and these were almost wholly maintained by the province.

A great part of the imposts of Silesia, therefore, must have been sent to Vienna. But the collection was made inaccurately, and without order. A considerable portion of the lands was loaded with arrears. The domanial property was ill administered, and under Charles VI. the bailiwics of the domains hardly produced 100,000 crowns. This disorder was more burthensome to the province than even the taxes themselves. The complaints were invariably against the collection, and never against the impost. An Imperial ordinance of 1712 gives us an insight into the application of the receipts from the treasury of the imposts. It prohibits any money from being drawn from the provincial coffers, without the participation of the grand bailiwick, for *new appointments, gratifications, marriage presents, christenings, repasts, entertainments, and feasts during the sitting of the states.*

Charles VI. in 1723, 1725, and 1736, named commissions to examine and reform the imposts, and ordered a new survey; but the work remained imperfect, and the burthen always overwhelmed the most unfortunate portion of the subjects. The repartition was left to the states, which were composed of priests, princes, gentlemen, and some deputies of towns; and, upon these occasions, the peasants were purely passive.

In time of war, the ordinary imposts were insufficient. In 1735, some Dutch and English merchants advanced several millions to the emperor, and received, as a security, assign-

ments on the revenues of Silesia. The exclusive privilege of brewing beer was sold to the states; extraordinary duties were imposed, poll-taxes, taxes on boots, shoes, slippers, dancing, &c.

(4) These details may be seen in *Thile*, who has written on the arrangement of the taxes in Silesia. This author was himself one of the first commissioners appointed for its execution. His work is entitled, *Von Steuereinrichtungen*.

(5) See Journal of Buntzlau, 1777 (*Bunzlauer, Monatschrift*). The bushel of wheat weighs in Silesia upwards of 100 pounds, and costs, in general, two crowns.

(6) In France, the imposts on the cultivator amount to above one half of the produce of the land. In the principality of Anhalt-Zerbst and other countries in Germany, an estate in the country, worth, for instance, 5000 crowns, pays 85 annual impost. At 5 per cent. this estate can only produce 250 crowns a year; consequently, the impost amounts to one third of the produce.

(7) The following is an extract of this edict:

“ Our paternal cares for the states with which we are entrusted, inciting us to employ ourselves incessantly in endeavours to promote the welfare of our subjects, we have, since the commencement of our reign in Silesia, turned our attention towards the means of maintaining constant security and repose in this sovereign duchy of our states, and of augmenting those means. In consequence, it is our intention to consecrate wholly to the public safety and convenience such contributions as our faithful vassals and subjects are obliged to pay us for this double object, agreeably to natural and *divine right*, and the constitution of the province.

“ But,

“ But, as we have perceived, from the beginning, that the  
 “ contributions for the public wants have hitherto been le-  
 “ vied without any measure of justice, and have given rise  
 “ to the oppression of some states and subjects to relieve  
 “ others, our first care has been to introduce more order and  
 “ regularity in these impositions. To this effect, we have  
 “ established, at our expence, commissions to enquire into  
 “ and remedy these defects.

“ As all the inequalities that have crept into this branch  
 “ have their source either in the objects themselves subject  
 “ to the impost, or in the mode of collection, we have par-  
 “ ticularly directed the attention of the commissioners to  
 “ these two objects. We at present hope, with some foun-  
 “ dation, that, after the labours of our commission, which  
 “ are just terminated, we shall, at length, attain the so long  
 “ wished for equality heretofore sought after at an expence  
 “ so intolerable for the province. For the greatest prudence  
 “ has been made use of in the informations taken respecting  
 “ all objects liable to taxation; an equal rate has been es-  
 “ tablished, in which operation the ancient constitutions,  
 “ ordinances, treaties, &c. of the province, are taken for the  
 “ basis. We have suffered no exceptions in what relates to the  
 “ impost, since it is in conformity with the constitution of  
 “ the province and with justice, that all the members of the  
 “ state, who enjoy equally its protection, should contribute  
 “ to the expences incurred by that protection, relatively to  
 “ their respective properties and revenues. It is on this prin-  
 “ ciple that we have made our own territorial domains subject  
 “ to their proportion.

“ By ordering an accurate survey to be taken, and di-  
 “ viding the imposts with equality, we think we have greatly  
 “ relieved the province. A considerable part of the burthen  
 “ consisted in the defective manner in which the taxes were  
 “ levied and administered; a mystery into which the rateables  
 “ could



“ could never penetrate. These disorders we have remedied  
 “ by abolishing the arbitrary taxes, the excise in the country,  
 “ and that multitude of collections and impositions of every  
 “ kind known by the name of *the Turk's penny* (*Türkensteuer*),  
 “ *poll-tax, tax on dancing, that of a denier on meat, a gros on*  
 “ *beer, marriage gifts, &c.* and by uniting all these imposts,  
 “ for ever, under one head, namely, the territorial impost  
 “ for the country, and the excise for the towns.

“ The states and subjects, therefore, can make no difficulty  
 “ in paying, monthly, on a stated day, to the chamber of each  
 “ circle, the contribution necessary for the maintenance of  
 “ the army, and the other wants of the province.

“ We could have wished to ease our subjects of the coun-  
 “ try by requiring of them a less considerable sum ; but, as  
 “ the present situation of foreign states, added to the pre-  
 “ vailing posture of affairs, requires us constantly to keep  
 “ on foot a considerable army for the defence of the country,  
 “ and these taxes are solely destined to that use, we doubt  
 “ not that our subjects will acknowledge the necessity of the  
 “ said taxes, and of their punctual payment. And they will  
 “ feel still more strongly this necessity, if they consider that  
 “ the support of the army augments consumption, keeps corn  
 “ and other articles at a good price, and prevents the circu-  
 “ lation of the money beyond the province.

“ We promise, on our royal word, to our vassals and faith-  
 “ ful subjects, of every condition, in our own name, and in  
 “ that of our successors, that, in future, neither in time of  
 “ war nor peace, will we carry these taxes higher than the  
 “ rate at which they are fixed in the survey, even should the  
 “ objects liable to the impost be improved, and of more  
 “ value ; and that we will lay no other tax on the province  
 “ under any denomination whatsoever. On the contrary,  
 “ we engage to indemnify, in ready money, by our chamber  
 “ of domains, our faithful subjects, for all public calamities,  
 “ such

“such as the expences of war, transports, years of scarcity,  
 “hail, mortality amongst the cattle, inundations, fires, or  
 “other accidents.

“Given at Potzdam, 23d April, 1743.

“FREDERICK.”

(8) Frederick II. did not form more favourable opinions than were entertained by any other person concerning the administration of finances in France; but, he threw all the blame on the farmers-general, the comptrollers of the finances, and other heads of that department. He had been told of the admirable order which reigned in the offices of finance, and it was this order which he wished to introduce into his administration. He imagined, that, by selecting inferior officers, and superintending them himself, his country would not be exposed to the rapine too frequently occasioned by the system of farming. He imagined, also, that foreigners, and especially Frenchmen, would be constantly watched by the jealousy of the inhabitants, which would serve as a check upon their proceedings.

An anecdote, related in a public memorial, proves the opinion that Frederick II. entertained of French financiers. A man of the name of La Combe, director of excise at Magdebourg, becoming responsible for a cashier who ran away, and having been put in prison and dismissed from his employ, went to Potzdam, immediately after his enlargement, with a memorial, in which were exposed certain complaints against the Sieur de Launai, the director-general, whom he accused of being the cause of his misfortune. The matter is thus stated in the memorial:

“From Potzdam the director de La Combe went to the  
 “palace of Sans-Souci. The king appearing, the director  
 “de La Combe presented his memorial. His majesty asked  
 “him who he was. He replied, that his name was de La  
 “Combe, formerly director of excise at Madebourg; on  
 “which

“which the king said to him, refusing to receive his memorial, “*I know your affair: begone! begone! I know all that affair.*”

“The sieur de La Combe represented to him, that the matter had been misrepresented, and supplicated him to receive his memorial. The king persisted in his refusal, and went a few paces off to mount his horse, and, when on horseback, he repeated to him, “*Yes, yes, I know all that affair: when you want to cheat, you must go to France!*” La Combe attempted to reply, but the king went off in a gallop, without listening to his complaints.

(9) Frederick adopted, towards the end of his life, another way of thinking. It appears as if his only intention had been to put the matter in train, and transfer it afterwards to the Germans. During the four or five last years of his reign, the most artfully provident of the French took the precaution to escape with the money they had scraped together; and many of them were even dismissed in very harsh terms. The director-general, who had two nephews in employments not endowed with the same cunning as himself, sent them off, from a principle of precaution, that they might escape enquiries, chusing rather to make them quit considerable appointments, and see them safe, though destitute, at Paris, than exposed to disagreeable, if not dangerous embarrassments at Berlin. The French administrators boast of having augmented the revenues of the king; but, in good truth, it was not necessary to be a forcerer for the accomplishment of such an object. They advised the king, for instance, to lay an exorbitant duty on coffee, and to monopolize the article. What German would not have made this brilliant discovery, as well as a nephew of Monsieur de Launai? Or, rather, where is the German patriot who would not have blushed in the presence of his fellow-citizens, to have proposed resources of this sort, at a time when the state was not in want, and when these additional



tional imposts were every day more and more destructive to circulation and to commerce?

In the end, the king absolutely insisted on having invalids employed in this department.

(10) The principal director had, at the commencement, 30,000 crowns a year (about 120,000 French livres). We may imagine the sensation which such salaries produced in a country where a man, with an income of two thousand crowns, may keep an equipage, and where the ministers of state have not more than from four to five thousand. A stranger, so well paid, could not but excite much jealousy. Besides the ordinary appointments, gratifications were distributed to these gentlemen, to reward them for their services.

Many of them, notwithstanding, themselves played the smuggler, and without any apprehensions of being detected. One of the directors was betrayed in a single instance by his comrade, and the affair was on the point of being submitted to the cognizance of a court of justice; but the French found means to hush it up, for the honour of the nation, or rather of the band.

Mitchel, the British envoy at Berlin, speaking of these peculators, observed, "*that the French were beaten once in the field of Rosbach by the Prussians, but they are every day taking their revenge in the towns.*"

(11) In mercantile houses they were obliged to keep a clerk expressly for this business. The Germans had no idea of all these formalities and delays; but the French consoled them by telling them that this was the very object of the profession, and by relating to them, that, in France, to transport a cask of wine from one of the provinces to the capital, it became necessary to pay twenty different petty duties, under various denominations; that, if the driver unluckily loses one of the little tickets which he receives on the payment of every

every fresh duty, he stands exposed to a prosecution, and there is matter for a law-suit. When we reflect on these things, we cannot but bless the prince who is at present labouring, with so much ardour and patriotism, to simplify the administration of finances in that flourishing kingdom. This is the most signal benefit which a nation can receive from a good king.

(12) These officers, whose sole merit frequently consisted in a neat hand-writing and the knowledge of arithmetic, sometimes passed the most absurd sentences. They, upon one occasion, condemned a soldier to pay a fine of 200 crowns for concealing a few pounds of tobacco. The king, to whom the sentence was transmitted, wrote underneath it, "*Before I confirm this sentence, I should be glad to know where a soldier, who has eight gros to live on for five days, is to raise 200 crowns to pay this fine?*"

The princess of Prussia, the first spouse of Frederick-William II. the reigning monarch, whose marriage was dissolved, and who was herself confined to Stettin, had commissioned a very handsome gown to be sent her to that town from Lyons. As these stuffs pay immense duties, the custom-house officer of the place insolently retained the gown until they were discharged. The princess, indignant at this treatment, ordered the man to bring the gown, when she would pay the duty. He obeyed; but no sooner had he entered the apartment, than the princess seizes the gown, strikes him violently on the face, and drives him out of the room. The fellow, puffed up with official pride, retreated in excessive rage, and drew up a long narrative of the transaction, addressed to the king, wherein he complained bitterly of having been dishonoured in the discharge of his duty. Frederick answered him:

"The loss of the excise duty shall be on my account; the gown shall remain with the princess, the cuffs to him who

"has

"has received them. As for the pretended dishonour, I believe the plaintiff from it. Never could the application of a fair hand disgrace the cheek of a custom-house officer."

"FREDERICK."

(13) The French, in general, who were employed in the finances, retired very rich. The most prudent among them did not wait for the king's death. De Launai, the director-general, was reduced to a salary of 15,000 crowns, and several others in proportion. These frequent diminutions induced him, at various times, to demand permission to resign, but Frederick always refused him. After the death of Frederick, the hatred of the nation bore down all limits whatsoever, especially when they saw Frederick-William manifest his aversion for the French, and drive them from his states. Monsieur De Launai was obliged to give an account of his conduct, and extricated himself with honour.

(14) Towards the end of Frederick's reign, one of these smugglers, pursued in the dusk of the evening by a custom-house officer in the streets of Berlin, and on the point of being seized, drew out a pistol, and killed him on the spot. He made his escape. The king wrote to the administration, and, under the idea that the murderer would not prove so foolishly careless as to fall into the hands of justice, directed, that, if re-taken, he should be broken upon the wheel. The directors thought that they perfectly interpreted the king's intentions by offering two hundred crowns to whoever should deliver him up, and already anticipated the glory of seeing a Prussian broken on the wheel for smuggling, under the reign of Frederick the philosopher. And, in fact, he was apprehended. But Frederick, fearing lest they should act in consequence of what he had written in his first letter with no other intention than to terrify the other smugglers, dispatched a second letter to the administration, and, by ordering



dering them to pass no sentence without a scrupulous examination of the proofs, he gave them to understand that it was not his pleasure the man should be condemned to die. He was afterwards confined at Spandau.

(15) Although almost all foreign merchandize was prohibited at Berlin, every article was to be found in the best shops; only the inconsiderable shopkeepers were unable to procure them; and the directors shut their eyes to this traffic. It was only necessary to make a present of a silk gown from Lyons, or some trinket, to madam the directress or sub-directress.

Pensions were frequently given to persons on the receipt of duties who never worked there, and who, under some false title, received a thousand or more crowns a year, for no other reason but because they were the favourites of the director, or had it in their power to be favourable to the French system of administration on difficult occasions. A professor and academician, for instance, had a pension of one thousand crowns only for correcting the style and orthography of the general direction when they had occasion to write to the king; an employ, however, of which he acquitted himself very indifferently.

(16) When some of these officers proposed to the king to have all the coffee sold, ready burnt, in tin boxes sealed up, and to lay a tax on it of four livres a pound, they did not confine themselves to the impost, but sent commissions to all the merchants of Lubec and Hamburgh, to buy up all the damaged coffee they could meet with. Having purchased this at a low price, they sold it for six times the value to the king. This coffee, shut up in their warehouses, became still worse, and produced disorders among the people. Complaints were made, the warehouses were examined, and the damaged coffee found and thrown into the river, to the great

great regret of the speculators, who yet were not hanged, but still continued to enjoy their places. Frederick did not like to inflict the pain of death ; but, should he not have made an exception for public poisoners ?

(17) It is very common in Germany to be obliged to pay tolls on the high roads, under the title of *causeway money*, *bridge money*, &c. and frequently in places where neither bridges nor causeways are to be seen. These exactions are renewed as often as the passenger enters into the territory of a new sovereign, and often at each village of the same state. In those places where there are neither roads nor causeways, it is one of the remains of those days of barbarism, where the barons ransomed the passengers on the highways. These tolls are seldom paid with pleasure any where except in Austria and Wirtemberg, where the roads are really commodious.

(18) It is a sad reflection that there should be taxes even on virtue. If a man, content with aliments of pure necessity, had sobriety enough to live on bread and fruits, he would still be compelled to pay for salt, of which he makes no use. There is a country where they have proposed to put smoking tobacco on the same footing, and to oblige every person to take a certain quantity, *whether he smokes or not !*

(19) A time there was, ere England's griefs began,  
When every rood of ground maintain'd its man ;  
But times are alter'd ; trade's unfeeling train  
Usurp the land, and dispossess the swain.  
Along the lawn, where scatter'd hamlets rose,  
Unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp repose ;  
One only master grasps the smiling plain.

Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*.

Charles IV. who was an enlightened œconomist, acknowledged the utility of dividing farms. We find a diploma, in

his reign, which allows these divisions in Silesia, "*because,*" he observes, "*that is more favourable to the progress of cultivation in the province, and to the public good.*" S. Fabri orig. Wratisslaw.

(20) It was at the same time that the ministers of all the departments repaired to Potsdam to present their reports. Frederick usually kept upon a table, all the year, the general balance of the finances of all his dominions, and often cast his eyes on it.

(21) This, at least, is all that has come to the knowledge of a man not employed in the affairs themselves, and all that can be learnt from printed memoirs. The exact report of the king's revenues, as well as the state of the public receipt and expenditure, remains a secret with the ministers and the chambers of domains. Yet there is no king on earth who had less reason than Frederick II. to make a mystery of the administration of his finances. Could this prince possibly be apprehensive of finding imitators among sovereigns, in a department which requires an unremitted attention on the part of the monarch, and, as it were, the uninterrupted labours of a perpetual superintendence?

Joseph II. however, has imitated, in his states, part of the operations of Frederick. In France, under a sovereign so full of good intentions, what could prevent the adoption of so simple an administration, crowned by the most complete success? Should this powerful nation succeed in establishing, in the administration of her finances, the order which was observed in the Prussian states under the reign of Frederick, what neighbouring power could enter into competition with her, or even avoid regarding her with awe?

(22) The arrangement, of which mention will hereafter be made, is, in effect, very useful to the sovereign; nor is



it possible to derive more service from his subjects. I admit that every subject is obliged to defend his country; but liberty must form the basis of this obligation. In the ancient republics the armies were composed of citizens. It is hard not to be allowed the choice of the situation to which we wish to dedicate our lives; it is cruel to be forced into a military life, as it were, from the birth. I have seen the female inhabitants of the country wishing not to bring male children into the world; I have seen them afflicted at the birth of a son. In a constitution of this nature, the government must dread the too rapid progress of information among the people: for, in the end, an enlightened people would discover resources against this species of slavery. A man, who has thought proper to reason upon government, and who has reasoned at random, pretends that Prussia is not a military state. Now, I would ask what a military state is, if it be not that in which a whole nation is compelled to bear arms; where every male infant belongs to a regiment; where the circulation depends on military expenditure; where the sovereign, and all the princes, are perpetually under arms; where a lieutenant, or other officer, is often sent to annul the sentence of a court of justice, and examine an affair of commerce or finance; where, during the course of the whole year, the country resembles a camp or field of battle; where the cultivator is obliged to quit his plough three months in the year to carry the musket in time of peace, and for the whole year in war?

(23) *Slavi vivunt in miseris tuguriis, satis longo intervallo separatis . . . Vivendi modus asper & negligens . . . continua sordes. Procop. de bello Goth.*

(24) The manner in which the king had these buildings constructed could not but be subject to many inconveniencies. He did not take the most able architect, but he who demanded

the least, and these buildings were always let to the lowest bidder who would undertake them. Hence it was that the architect built only for the king's life, and accordingly most of the new edifices threatened to fall into ruins at the end of twenty years. We have even seen one of the two superb towers constructed by Frederick in the square of the Gens-d'armes, crumble to pieces before it was half erected. It may be truly said, that Frederick, in giving these houses to his subjects, has prepared them magnificent tombs, in which they will one day be buried.

The ornaments with which these buildings were decorated have been greatly condemned. It is observed that statues and bas-reliefs are ill befitting the house of a taylor, a carpenter, or shoemaker. But critics have forgotten that Frederick's great object in matters of this kind was to cherish every branch of industry in his states, and to find employment for workmen and artists of every sort, many of whom, without this encouragement, must have been obliged to leave the country.

(25) These soldiers were called *Freywächter*, or exempt from mounting guard. While they laboured, the captain received their pay.

(26) Let us not, however, conceal abuses ; we owe the truth to the public. These complaints were not thrown into the fire, but they were almost always referred to the departments against which they were directed. What was the result of this ? The heads of these departments, irritated against those who had dared to raise up their voice against them, never failed to aggravate the matter in their reports, and individuals often fell victims to their courage. Even at the death of Frederick II. there was in the prison of Berlin a Frenchman, who, after quitting an establishment which he enjoyed in France, seduced by brilliant promises, had come to

to form a manufactory in Brandenbourg. The chiefs of the department who had orders to furnish him with the necessary advances, and to construct the buildings necessary for his undertaking, amused him with different pretexts, and did not complete them for him by the promised time. The Frenchman had undertaken to give the king specimens of his fabric at a given period, and the performance of his promise depended wholly on the buildings to be made for him. They were, however, too ill and too slowly executed to allow the manufacturer time to fulfil his engagement. When the moment was approaching, the chief of the department sent for the Frenchman, and represented to him, that, if he informed the king that the buildings were either not finished or ill constructed, it would be his ruin. Under this pretext, he prevailed upon the good natured Frenchman to sign his acceptance of the buildings. The manufacturer, charmed with having generously saved a minister from ruin, put implicit confidence in all the tales they had lulled him with to obtain the writing. He was deceived.

The minister, armed with this acceptance, pressed the manufacturer to make samples of some sort or other, always under the pretence of concealing from the king the real cause of the delay. The specimens executed, and ill-executed as we may well suppose, the minister represented the Frenchman to the king as an ignorant fellow who had imposed upon his majesty; and, to prove that the department had done every thing in their power to favour the establishment, he produces, at the same time, the paper by which he accepts the buildings at the stipulated time, declaring them in proper order, and such as they had been promised to him. This poor man was caught by his own signature: he attempted to unveil the whole mystery, and wrote to the king; but all his letters were sent to the minister of whom he complained, who himself refused at length to speak with him. Nor was this all; he had associated some men of property in



his undertaking ; to them it was hinted that the manufacture was about to be taken from him : they demanded their capitals, and, for want of payment, the Frenchman was thrown into prison, where he remained many years, during which he never ceased writing letters to the king, without ever obtaining a word of answer, and the manufacture, the property of which had been formally vested in him by the king, was given to another, without any other form of process. I have before me two and twenty letters written by this unfortunate man to Frederick II. of which he took no notice. This is nearly the manner in which strangers in general were treated, whom the king enticed into his dominions for the purpose of establishing manufactures. A plush manufacturer of Amiens, called Laurent, met with much the same fate. A privilege and buildings were granted him, on condition of his bringing plush to the value of twelve or fifteen thousand crowns into the king's dominions by way of security. This he did, and his manufacture became flourishing ; but, at length, means were found to accuse him of smuggling, and the ground-work of the charge was that very merchandize which he had been required to bring into the country. He was sent to Spandau.

I have heard an old counsellor of Berlin, who died two or three years ago, say, that he was persuaded that neighbouring powers gave pensions to the heads of the departments, to stop the progress of foreign manufactures, and to favour monopolies, which ruin commerce. Add to this, what these chiefs drew from the monopolizers, and we shall no longer be astonished, that, in spite of all the pains of Frederick, commerce was by no means so flourishing in his reign as it might have been.

Each department had in pay a counsellor or cabinet-secretary, to give them advice of all the letters and complaints made to the king against them, and the persons complained of generally received a copy of the answer given to the complaint

plaint before the aggrieved person, so that they could judge of the king's intentions, and arrange, in consequence, their intrigues and answers. All this, however, concludes nothing against the good which Frederick wished to carry into execution. He can only be reproached with having made too light a choice of ministers, and granting them his confidence on too slender grounds. It was a weakness of this prince, to instruct others, and point out to them in detail the nature of their duty; and, on this plan, he often introduced to places of civil administration men who had been simple lieutenants of regiments, without any knowledge whatever of business. To gain his good graces, nothing was necessary but to affect a docile and submissive air. What might not Frederick have effected if he had always thought proper to distinguish men of merit and honour, since, with a set of intriguing and rapacious instruments, he has operated such wonderful revolutions?

(27) We shall here enumerate a few of the sums distributed by the king in 1782. The crop having much failed, the king distributed 200,000 crowns to the farmers of the two marches Silesia and Pomerania. For the rebuilding of some houses burnt in the little town of Falkenbourg he gave 7000 crowns.

For the town of Jacobshagen, which was burnt, 39,000 crowns.

To revive circulation, and relieve some of his Polish towns, 100,000 crowns.

To rebuild the town of Kroppenstedt, in the principality of Halberstadt, 32,000 crowns.

To build and embellish some towns in Silesia 60,000 crowns.

On account of conflagrations in the same province 40,000 crowns.

There was not a year in which the king did not repair the misfortunes of his subjects by largesses proportioned to the

losses they had sustained ; not to mention other expences of all sorts for the welfare of the country.

- (28) Hinc rara a Prisco videas fondata Polono  
Oppida, nec structas altis in collibus arces,  
Sparsa sed agresti vix ligno hærentia tella  
Primores habitare equites, stabulare sub uno,  
Paupere cum verna dominum pecudesque hominesque ;  
Atque indiscreto porcos grunire cubili.

*Fabri Kæckritii Silesia.*

- (29) Non dubium est, quod minus reddit laxus ager non recte cultus, quam angustus eximie cultus. *Columella*, lib. i. c. 2.

Economists have reasoned much on fallows ; but it seems as if we risked deceiving ourselves in laying down general principles on this head. The utility or inutility of fallows depends on the fertility of the lands, or rather on the facility of preserving moisture in them, relatively to the heat of the climate. In general, the lands are fertile in Silesia, and with a considerable manuring, and the precaution of not sowing corn of the same species for two successive years, fallows might be abolished in that country.

- (30) This law permitted a Roman citizen to possess 500 acres of land ; but he could not allot to one man more than seven acres to cultivate.

(31) In the founder's diploma of the abbey of Grissau, in Silesia, in 1292, a district situated in the forest of Grissabor is given to the monks, who, thus, become intitled to *whatsoever may arise, in consequence of their cultivation and expence, as the produce of the soil*. Hence, we perceive, that the intention of the founders of these religious houses was by these donations to contribute to the advantage of the state, by facilitating the clearing out of lands. It is to the ancient monks



monks that we are indebted for the cultivation of many waste tracts in several countries of Europe. Had the successors of these pious and solitary labourers retained the spirit of their founders, they would have been more useful to the state, and not have merited the reproaches of idleness and inutility with which they are loaded in the present times.

(32) The king, being one day in an abbey of Silesia, asked a monk belonging to it, "Whether he and his brethren drank in the refectory wine of the growth of the convent?" "Only in *Passion week*," replied the monk, "as a mortification."

(33) As the patent forms an epocha in the history of the progress of agriculture in Silesia, it may not be improper to give an extract from it.

"It is known, and experience teaches all enlightened cultivators, that commons are very prejudicial to the progress of agriculture and the increase of flocks. The obstacles and objections opposed to the abolition of these noxious institutions partly consist of prejudices which are respected from their antiquity, but the futility of which is sufficiently proved by the happy experience of other countries; and they also partly arise from the difficulty of obtaining the consent of members of communities to renounce pretended rights founded on usages, ordinances, treaties, and other acts of that nature. His majesty, not willing that his beneficent views respecting the progress of agriculture in general should be thwarted by the ignorance and obstinacy of some cultivators, cannot suffer himself to be stopped by such sort of usages, treaties, ordinances, &c. for this is a question which concerns the general interest of the province, and in which, consequently, nothing can be done without the consent of the sovereign. . . . In general, the abolition of the commons shall be proceeded on agreeably to all the rules of equity and justice, and no person shall have reason to

"com-

“ complain of having suffered the smallest injury. In con-  
“ sequence, we establish it as a constant law, that all the  
“ commons and mixed lands shall be set aside, and all  
“ the usages, treaties, ordinances, &c. to the contrary, be  
“ null and void. . . The commons shall be divided into two  
“ classes. In the former are comprised what are called  
“ *common pastures*, which have been hitherto considered as  
“ common property, appertaining to the whole community,  
“ and the use of them as vested in each member. Such,  
“ for example, are the great pasture grounds, marches, and  
“ other pieces of land, on which many husbandmen send their  
“ cattle to graze, without applying them to any other use.  
“ It is evident that lands of this sort are not so usefully em-  
“ ployed as they might be, since they are deprived of every  
“ sort of culture, whilst the irregular manner in which the  
“ flocks are put on them spoils and destroys the young grass,  
“ and prevents it from attaining that point of growth and  
“ perfection which gives it all the utility of which it is suf-  
“ ceptible. A common of this kind hardly feeds one third of  
“ the cattle it might do, were it divided between the members  
“ of the community, and were each proprietor to sow it with  
“ different grasses according to the nature of the soil. By  
“ these means the quantity of good forage, and, consequently,  
“ of serviceable dung, would become augmented, and this re-  
“ form would thus extend its influence over all the tillage  
“ lands of the country.

“ As the only difficulties which can arise in opposition to this  
“ division of the commons must originate in the ignorance and  
“ obstinacy of the members of communities, and as his ma-  
“ jesty can no longer pay attention to obstacles of this nature, he  
“ is seriously determined to abolish, without delay, all com-  
“ mon places and pasture grounds, and to divide them among  
“ the members of the communities, in proportion to the time  
“ they have enjoyed the use of them, without paying at-  
“ tention to any representations whatsoever.

“ In the other class of common lands are the common  
“ runs established by communities among themselves, with or  
“ without the participation of their lord, over their own  
“ lands, fallows, stubbles, meadows, &c. or even the lands of  
“ the lords and subjects, or other proprietors, which are so  
“ intermingled and crossed, that each proprietor depends on  
“ his neighbour for sowing, harvesting, or grazing his cattle.  
“ This arrangement hinders each possessor from deriving all the  
“ profit he might do from his lands, according to his views and  
“ knowledge of agriculture, being obliged to conform to an-  
“ cient customs, frequently devoid of reason, and to regulate  
“ himself by the caprice, the prejudices, and unskilfulness of his  
“ neighbours. Besides this, a number of roads, boundaries,  
“ and separations, deprive agriculture of a considerable quan-  
“ tity of ground, and render the growth of young trees and  
“ shrubs impossible, by which the limits might otherwise be  
“ marked. The grass of the meadows is trampled under foot,  
“ eaten bare, spoiled by the cattle, or torn up in autumn by  
“ the roots. The proprietor loses all hope of after-grass; and  
“ this loss is by no means made up by the insufficient and fre-  
“ quently unwholesome grass which the cattle find with dif-  
“ ficulty in the common pastures.

“ The example of several countries, and even of whole states,  
“ teaches us, that agriculture makes a real progress, and is in-  
“ finitely more productive, when each proprietor has brought  
“ his lands into one compact body, which he surrounds, as  
“ much as possible, with quick hedges and ditches, and when  
“ all sorts of common fields and pasturages are abolished :  
“ for, by these means, the proprietor acquires the liberty of  
“ forming a just proportion between his farm and his cattle, is  
“ always able to leave a sufficient quantity in grass, augments  
“ the number of his cattle, and soon finds himself in a fair  
“ way to an encrease of revenue.

“ The difficulties which have been generally opposed to this  
“ arrangement originate rather in the prejudices and ignorance

“ of



“ of those who start them than in the thing itself. The most  
“ able oeconomists admit the inutility of fallows, and the ne-  
“ cessity of dividing lands for cultivation. The possibility and  
“ advantage of feeding cattle in stables is every day confirmed  
“ by the experience of several skilful cultivators, who, by their  
“ endeavours, have merited the king’s approbation. All the  
“ other difficulties which might arise from the nature of the  
“ thing itself, can easily be obviated by means founded on rea-  
“ son and conformable to circumstances.

“ In consequence, his majesty wishes to abolish, as far as  
“ possible, that sort of common land which arises from the  
“ mixture of the estates of different proprietors; and he hopes  
“ that the sensible and reasonable part of the landholders will  
“ be themselves convinced of the utility of these changes, and  
“ set the example to others, by beginning these advantageous  
“ operations. The commission of inclosures, established for  
“ this purpose, will furnish, likewise, all sorts of encourage-  
“ ment to the lords and to communities. Yet it is a law to  
“ be invariably observed, that when one part of a commu-  
“ nity, the lord or the inhabitants, for example, shall have be-  
“ gun or proposed a division of common lands, the others shall  
“ be obliged to conform to it, and no regard will be paid to  
“ their objections or remonstrances.

“ In the division of commons of the first class, regard shall  
“ be had to the number of cattle heretofore set to graze on  
“ them, and the share of each person shall be proportioned to  
“ his right of common. But, should a spot of common ground  
“ prove too small for a division, it shall be reserved to supply  
“ some inequality in the distribution of lands of the second  
“ class. In the division of the commons of the second class,  
“ it shall be so contrived, as that the lands of each member  
“ may be as contiguous and compact as possible; with the  
“ proviso that each proprietor shall receive the same quantity  
“ of land and of the same quality, and that he shall be in-  
“ demnified for any loss occasioned by this distribution.

“ As

“As the lords in Silesia have the right of feeding their  
 “sheep on the lands of their vassals, which right they will  
 “forfeit by the new arrangement, and by the inclosure of  
 “every man’s property, it is but just that they should be  
 “indemnified for this loss by the cession of a piece of com-  
 “mon land adequate to what they may have lost, or by a  
 “quit-rent from each vassal, or by some other means: for,  
 “so far from the said arrangement proving injurious to the  
 “breeding of sheep, it must, on the contrary, contribute to  
 “this branch of rural œconomy.

“The inhabitants and mere labourers, who have never  
 “been in possession of any land, but who have a few beasts  
 “which they fed on the commons, shall be indemnified for  
 “this right of pasturage by a piece of land taken off the  
 “common field.

“Should the commission fail in effecting an amicable di-  
 “vision, the affair shall be referred to the regency, with all  
 “the objections and reasons, and they shall decide. Though  
 “this commission be established for the purpose of abolishing  
 “commons, and for dividing them among the members of  
 “communities, it does not follow from hence that the said  
 “members are deprived of the right of arranging these di-  
 “visions among themselves, without the participation of the  
 “said commission; provided always, that they get their act  
 “of division confirmed by the competent provincial college,  
 “which shall confirm, in like manner, those made by the  
 “commission. . . . And, to the end that every one may be  
 “convinced that his majesty, in these changes, has no object  
 “but the welfare of the inhabitants of the country, he as-  
 “sures them, by these presents, as well in his own name as  
 “in that of his successors, that at no time shall there be laid  
 “any taxes on improvements of this nature, nor shall those  
 “which now subsist be augmented, &c.”

(34) Some person had written on the minister’s door, *De*  
*coria*

*corio tuo luditur.* But, he joined in the laugh against him, and pursued his course. A German author has compared his firmness on this occasion to that of Christopher Columbus.

(35) *Civitatem, ut pupillam, extra ordinem juvari, moris est. L. 3. C. de jure reipubl.*

(36) Schwenckfeld was a Silesian knight, counsellor of the duke of Lignitz, who maintained the sentiments of Carlostadt on the eucharist. He founded in Silesia a small society, which was persecuted by the Catholic sovereigns, but Frederick allowed free liberty of conscience.

(37) The order which placed the candidates bears the marks of a military government. Leopold of Dessau issued one conceived in the following terms :

“ By the king. The candidate N. N. shall perform divine  
“ service at N. N. and discharge all other ecclesiastical  
“ functions, without molesting, in any point, the Catholics,  
“ of which he must be careful. Given at head-quarters, &c.

“ Leopold of Anhalt, lieutenant-general in  
“ the service of Prussia.”

The text was prescribed to these new pastors, on which they were to preach at their installation. The following are what were usually given them :

*When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. Deut. ch. xx. v. 10.*

*And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war with thee, then thou shalt besiege it. Ibid. v. 12.*

*Then answered Simon, and said unto him, We have neither taken other men's land, nor holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time. Macc. I. ch. xv. v. 33.*

*Wherefore we having opportunity hold the inheritance of our fathers. Ibid. v. 34.*

(38) The



(38) The preamble to this edict deserves to be recited :

“ As we are of opinion, that no procedure is more contrary to nature, to reason, and the principles of Christianity, than to put shackles on the consciences of subjects, and to persecute them for opinions which relate not to the essentials of religion, we have resolved to recal the Schwenckfeldians, who have been driven away by an inconsiderate zeal, to the great detriment of the country, &c.”

(39) In 1758 this ordinance was abrogated, and it was ordained that each member of a parish should contribute only to the maintenance of the priest, the church, and school of his own religion.

(40) We find several examples in history of what is here advanced respecting the sovereigns of the house of Austria. It is what happened in 1585, at the death of the bishop Martin Gerstmann. At the death of the bishop Jérin the revenues of the bishopric were received by the sovereign from 1586 to 1599. The same thing happened in 1667, at the death of the bishop John de Sitsch, and on other occasions.

We might cite a still greater number of cases where the sovereigns have appropriated to themselves the succession of bishops and abbots \*. After the death of bishop Jérin, the court received 25,000 ducats from his succession. In 1600, the succession of the bishop Albert, and at the period of other successions, a fine set of horses was sent to Vienna. These circumstances took place at every succession of abbots.

(41) Ex eodem jure illud est, quod reges sibi potestatem arrogant alendos offerre cœnobitis in Silesia, milites veteranos seu caussarios graves annis. *Hennelii Silesiogr.*

\* Defungentium antistitum bona in Silesia neque ecclesiis neque cognatis, sed fisco regio sive cameræ cedunt. *Hennelii Silesiogr.* edit. 1713.

(42) Una

(42) Una quarta Abbati, altera quarta Clero, tertia quarta ad Fabricam, et quarta ultima Laïcis pauperibus.

(43) Preceding sovereigns often assumed the right of applying the estates of abbeys and religious foundations to arbitrary uses. In 1505, Uladisslas, wishing to erect an university at Breslaw, assigned some of the prelacies and prebendary incomes of Kreuzstift for the maintenance of the professors. The university of Cracow opposed this measure, and he receded. In 1542, Ferdinand I. pledged some estates of an abbey at Breslaw for 6000 ducats. In 1648, Ferdinand III. gave the Jesuits the convent of the Cordeliers at Breslaw, and ordered those monks to quit it, telling them that their conduct was so scandalous as no longer to be tolerated or suffered in the country. When the chamber attempted to execute this order, the guardian made the monks bar the doors of the convent within, went himself to sound the alarm bell, and called for help. The magistracy put the soldiers under arms to prevent a tumult. The Cordeliers, however, did not quit their convent, the town council interceding for them; and the Imperial palace was given to the Jesuits.

(44) It has been remarked that Frederick always made use of this expression when speaking of the clergy of Silesia.

(45) Besides this, Frederick's predecessors in Silesia intended to possess themselves of the surplus of the revenues of convents. It was with this view that Ferdinand I. in 1558, Maximilian II. in 1570, Rodolph II. in 1576, and Charles VI. ordered the chamber to make a strict research into the estates and revenues of the monks. Rodolph II. established commissioners of horse, who went from abbey to abbey to take a state of the revenues of the monasteries, of what was necessary for the subsistence of the monks, and of the

the surplus to be applied to the royal coffers. They had interest enough at court, indeed, to avoid the payment of their superfluity; but, having succeeded thus far, they did not wait for entreaties to bestow the *free gifts* demanded of them. Monkish pride was more easily reconciled to this word, which seemed to save the appearances of servitude and a permanent impost.

In 1598, Rodolph II. exacted a considerable contribution from the convents, under the pretext of a war with the Turks; and in a short time they produced 188,000 crowns, which were sent into Hungary. The following ordinance, issued by Rodolph on this subject, is remarkable: "Though we were resolved to have the convents visited by our commissioners, to draw up an exact state of their revenues, and so to arrange matters, and to leave to each of them only what was absolutely necessary for their subsistence, and to convert the remainder into money to be employed against the enemies of the state; we are pleased, however, to adopt more moderate measures with respect to these convents. In consequence, the abbey of Breslaw shall pay, as soon as possible, 18,000 crowns; that of St. Vincent 25,000; of St. Clara 3000; of St. Catherine 3000; of St. Matthias 10,000; of Henrichau 12,000; of Leubus 3000; of Sagan 1500; of Grissau 1200; of Paradise 8000; of Libental 8000; of St. Clara of Glogau 5000; of Sprottau 2000; of Strigau 2000; of Naumbourg 2000 crowns, &c."

Under Charles VI. the abbeys, those held *in commendam*, and church-livings, were obliged to pay, ten years successively, 12,000 florins, for the support of the fortifications of Belgrade and Temeswar. The Protestant clergy voluntarily paid 20,000 florins for the same purpose.

(46) In 1705, Joseph I. required that a certain nun should be named abbess of Trebniz; but the nuns thrice persisted



in electing a prioress of their own, and the election was as often annulled: at length a detachment of soldiers was sent to the convent, and the nuns were reduced to bread and water till they elected the person recommended them by the emperor.

In 1718, the monks of St. Matthias of Breslaw wished to depose their abbot, called Magnet, for living in adultery with his servant's wife, and causing great scandal by his irregular conduct. These monks depended on the order of Malta. The emperor allowed the grand master to enquire into Magnet's conduct, as far only as it related to his spiritual and monastic life. The abbot was prevailed upon to resign; but the court forbade the monks to elect another abbot in his life-time. The prior was obliged to take charge of spiritual matters, and the estates annexed to the abbey were managed by the Imperial chamber. The convent too was obliged to provide Magnet with a coach and horses, two servants, a table of eight covers, and, besides all this, to pay him a pension of 500 ducats in money.

(47) The abbé de Felbiger afterwards went to Vienna by Frederick's consent, and was created by the emperor director of the seminaries which this prince is establishing in his states. In almost all the Catholic countries schools are instituting on this plan. In every tract which he has published on education, and in his method of teaching, a perspicuity is to be remarked, which, from the a, b, c, disposes and prepares children to receive information and sound reason.

(48) The following is an abstract of this regulation:

“In the seminaries, or schools, children must be taught  
 “by principles, in an useful way, and applicably to the intercourse of life. . . . The master must give his scholar  
 “reasons for every thing, and oblige the scholar to feel  
 “these reasons, so that he may be able to explain them in

“his

“his turn. . . . Not only must the memory be filled, but  
“care must be taken to enlighten and form the mind. . . .  
“Young men destined to become schoolmasters shall teach  
“the children in the seminaries, under the eye of the mas-  
“ters, that the latter may have it in their power to correct  
“them if necessary, and to give them the habit and art of  
“teaching. In places where there is only one school for  
“several villages, these villages must not be above a league’s  
“distance from it in flat countries, and in the mountains not  
“more than half a league. . . . It is the duty of commu-  
“nities and gentlemen of estates, without distinction of  
“religion, to establish and maintain these schools; for a  
“gentleman, be his religion what it may, ought to be very  
“happy to see knowledge diffused among his vassals. . . .  
“In towns, the schools shall be open the whole year. . . .  
“By the new method, children should know their letters in  
“a month, how to spell in the second, and read in the third  
“month. . . . All boys from 6 to 13 years of age shall be  
“sent to school, whether their parents can pay for it or  
“not. . . . Such parents and guardians as, without suf-  
“ficient reason, shall not send the children to school, shall  
“be obliged to pay the double of what is paid usually for  
“schooling, the latter out of their own money, and not out  
“of the property of their pupils. . . . Children under eight  
“years of age shall go to school winter and summer; but in  
“the latter season, only in the mornings. Children more  
“advanced, who are employed in tending cattle or other  
“country works, need not attend the school from St.  
“George’s-day to Martinmas, but every Sunday they shall  
“be employed two hours in reading, writing, and learning  
“the catechism. A country child is only to pay half a gros-  
“per week. . . Collections shall be made for poor children  
“unable to pay. The curates shall visit the schools in their  
“parishes once a week, and the archdeacons, or inspectors

“ of schools, once a year, in order to examine the instruction  
 “ and progress of the scholars. The deans, archdeacons,  
 “ and inspectors of scholars, shall give an account annually  
 “ to the vicarship-general of the state of the schools, of the  
 “ care and capacity of the masters, and of the condition of the  
 “ school buildings; which statements the vicar-general shall  
 “ transmit to the chambers. . . . The latter are to remedy  
 “ abuses, and operate the necessary changes and reforms, by  
 “ means of the provincial counsellors. *See regulation for*  
 “ *the Catholic schools in Silesia, 1765.*”

(49) This controversial preacher one day asked, in presence of several officers who were at his sermon, “ *Whether*  
 “ *Martin Luther was not a deserter from the true church, and, as*  
 “ *such, whether he did not merit a flogging?*”

At another time, he said, “ *At present, my brethren, the ten*  
 “ *commandments are only composed of ten letters, DA PECUNIAM.*  
 “ . . . . *To the old ten commandments are added three new ones:*  
 “ *Thou shalt not reason; Thou shalt pay taxes; Thou shalt ap-*  
 “ *prehend deserters.*” . . . .

(50) This medal represents, on one side, the bust of the king, with the inscription *Fridericus Borufforum Rex*. On the reverse is a figure of Justice, holding a balance, one of the scales of which considerably inclines. The king places his sceptre upon that which is uppermost, to bring it to the level of the other, with the following inscription, *Emendato jure*.

Frederick accompanied this medal with the following letter:

“ *My dear Grand Chancellor, and Minister of State, Cocceii,*  
 “ The zeal, the care, and fidelity, with which you have  
 “ laboured to correspond with my views in the reformation  
 “ of justice, induce me to send you herewith, and make you  
 “ a present of a gold medal, stricken by my order upon the  
 “ occasion.



"occasion. I doubt not that you will receive it with pleasure, to hold me always in remembrance. I am your affectionate king.

"FREDERICK.

"Potsdam, 24th June, 1748."

(51) One of the first operations of Frederick-William was to revoke the judgment of his predecessor, and to restore those persons to liberty who had lost it in that affair. *Frederick II. though undeceived, had still left at Spandau the counsellors he sent there!* He dreaded extremely lest the public should discover that he had been imposed upon.

"My empire is destroyed, if the man be too easily discernible."

(52) The following is a translation of this order, as printed at the head of the Frederician code, published in 1781 :

"My dear Grand Chancellor de Carmer,

"It cannot be unknown to you, that, ever since the year 1746, and even before, I have invariably and anxiously wished to reform the abuses which have introduced themselves into the administration of justice in my kingdom and my other states ; and I have particularly directed,

"1. That the colleges of justice should be put on a better footing, and composed of able and honest members.

"2. That the judicial order should be purged of all useless formalities, so as to render it possible to terminate every process in the course of one year.

"3. That the scattered, vague, and equivocal laws should be collected into one code, and expressed with the greatest possible perspicuity and precision.

"As for the first article, I have no doubt of the possibility of carrying that into execution,

"By establishing more subordination in the tribunals, by introducing more method into business, and, above all, by

laying down objects on which the candidates shall be rigorously examined; by obliging them to act longer in the tribunals in quality of referendaries, and by keeping an attentive eye on their way of thinking and their conduct.

“ But these ordinances, so proper for reforming abuses, will remain without force and without effect, if the presidents and chiefs of each tribunal do not strive with ardour to conform to them.

“ It is to you, therefore, I address myself, to see that my will be followed with the utmost exactness in all the tribunals. To this effect, you must make the presidents and directors of the colleges of justice furnish you with an accurate and impartial account of the conduct of all the members and inferior officers who compose these tribunals, and in your researches you must lay a particular stress on their conduct. It is not enough for a member of a court of justice to be proof against a glaring and disgraceful act of corruption; it should appear, that, in all the functions of his office, he conducts himself without the smallest passion or the least appearance of partiality.

“ A man of exceptionable manners and without morality easily forgets his duty, and persons of this description must absolutely be excluded the tribunals. All such persons must be rejected without respect for their talents, their families, or other considerations.

“ If I can be thus assured of the probity of the members who compose my tribunals, I shall render them, on my part, all the justice they deserve, and shall honour and reward them according to their merit. But, on the other hand, I know no punishment severe enough for those who forget their duty so far as to abuse, for the oppression of the subject and the destruction of right and equity, a charge with which they are entrusted only to protect innocence and maintain the unalterable rights of justice.

“ With respect to the second article, I wish to flatter myself  
that

that the greatest abuses have been eradicated; you will allow, nevertheless, that judicial order is still interwoven with that wretched canon law against which all Germany has vented such well-founded complaints for several centuries.

“It is contrary to the nature of the case for the parties not of themselves to expose their complaints and grievances to the judge, instead of being obliged to have recourse to hired advocates, who have an interest in embroiling processes, so as to prolong their duration as much as possible, as on that depends their profit and prosperity.

“The most honest man amongst them, who might wish to prefer the duties of the citizen to his private interest, would find it out of his power to follow the impulse of his conscience in quality of plaintiff or defendant; as his adversary might abuse the detailed narrative of the fact, in order to overpower him by the multitude of proofs, and conduct him into a labyrinth from which he could not extricate himself without endangering his cause.

“When the judge only beholds the proceedings after the advocates have perplexed and confounded the whole affair as they thought proper, it is natural to suppose that he can never seize the true point on which the question hinges, that he consequently is obliged to attach himself to insufficient proofs, and is dragged into an unjust sentence, even contrary to his own conviction.

“I never can think that the ancient legislators, who possessed such talents and sound reason, could have intended to establish so senseless a judicial order; I rather wish to believe that it is the barbarism of later periods, and the indolence of judges, which have produced this monster of chicanery.

“I find nothing in the Roman history to make me think the contrary. Amongst the Romans, the judges were to begin by examining the fact themselves, before they listened to orators chosen by the parties, or pronounced sentence; and if it be true that the laws of the popes expressly order the



judges to enquire into the fact, and the advocates only to defend the rights of the parties, my opinion on the subject is unquestionable.

“ However this may be, my will is,

“ That in future the judge shall himself hear the complaints and reasons of the parties, that he shall weigh and compare the narratives and the proofs, and from thence discover the true jut of the affair which has given rise to the contestation; that he shall then propose an accommodation conformably with justice and equity.

“ I am sure that the parties, thus informed of the true state of their affair, will frequently be brought to a reconciliation, and the greatest part of the processes be nipped in the bud.

“ Such affairs as cannot be terminated in this manner, will not at least be exposed to all the tedious forms observed heretofore; and it will be much easier for the judge to decide after this examination.

“ I do not mean to say, however, that in all judicial affairs the parties shall be refused the assistance of a person versed in law: on the contrary, I think it necessary to grant advocates both to the plaintiff and defendant, in order to remind those judges of their duty, who from negligence, want of penetration, or a spirit of partiality, may not properly scrutinize into the affair; to enlighten and be a check on all their proceedings; to explain the rights of the parties; in a word, to use every exertion for the security of their clients.

“ But, that this new species of advocates may not fall back into the errors of the former, it must be so ordered as to leave them no interest in the event of the decision, or in the procrastination of the lawsuit, and to take care that their advancement, their interest, and their fortune, may all be directed to a very different point of view.

“ According to my new arrangement, referendaries, or *reporters*, must, above all, be employed in the examination of the fact, and thus serve as assistants to the counsellors.

“ The

“The reporters who on these occasions shall display the most ability and penetration, shall be marked out for promotion, and it is from among them the advocates shall be chosen, or, as they may be rather called, the assistant counsellors; and from them again shall be taken the effective counsellors, or judges of the tribunals or colleges of justice.

“These assistant counsellors shall have fixed salaries, as well as the ordinary counsellors of the tribunals, for which purpose a common fund shall be instituted, into which shall be paid all the produce of the fees.

“It may so happen that but few of the ancient advocates would wish to assume the title of assistant counsellors, and that many of them may want subsistence; but I shall so settle matters as to find employment for such of them as possess talents and integrity, in offices of the magistracy, justice, and others of that nature. Worthless men merit no attention.

“As for the laws themselves, it appears highly improper that they should be written, in a great measure, in a language not understood by those to whom they are to serve as a standard. In like manner it is improper, in a state where there is a legislator of acknowledged ability, to suffer laws, which, from their obscurity and double meaning, afford room for endless disputes, and of themselves are productive of lawsuits. You will take particular care, therefore, to see all the laws destined to govern our states and subjects compiled in their own language, to give them a clear and determined sense, and to make a complete collection of them.

“Now, as almost all my provinces have constitutions, statutes, and usages, very different the one from the other, a particular code must be formed for each of them, in which must be collected every thing which distinguishes their respective rights.

“But, as these provincial statutes and usages are confined only

only to a few objects, and do not contain general or complete rules of right, and as, for several ages, the code of the emperor Justinian has been received by almost all the nations of Europe, as well as by us, as a supplementary body of laws, recourse may still be had to it in future. It is well known, however, that this Roman code is, in a great measure, but a collection of opinions and decisions of lawyers in particular cases; that it frequently refers to ancient formalities attached to the Roman constitution, and which cannot be adapted to ours, and contains numberless contradictions: the essence of it only must be extracted, inasmuch as its contents may correspond with our actual laws and constitution; every thing useless and superfluous must be retrenched, the peculiar laws I have laid down for my states be aptly introduced, and a supplementary body of law be thus formed, to which the judge may recur in default of applicable provincial laws.

“ But, I shall here remark, in general, that it appears to me, that the Roman legislators, who have so profusely multiplied legal questions, have not taken so much pains to prevent circumstances which may give rise to doubts and excite processes.

“ We know, for instance, what a number of lawsuits originate in bargains and contracts of purchase and sale, from the precipitation of the contracting parties, who do not express themselves with sufficient clearness and precision. No point could prove easier than the prevention of each of these processes, if it were ordered that all contracts for the sale of immoveable property should be made in the presence of a judge, enjoined to expose artifice and injustice wheresoever they might arise, and to sign acts of this nature by way of confirmation.

“ Lawsuits are an evil in society which disturbs the happiness of the citizens; and, therefore, that law must prove the best



best which prevents contestations, and diminishes their number.

“ If, as I hope I shall, I attain my object in the reformation of the laws and of judicial order, several lawyers, indeed, will lose by this simplification the consideration they derived from the mystery with which they were enveloped; they will no longer be able to make a parade of their vain subtleties, and the whole body of ancient advocates will become useless: but by this measure, also, I shall deliver my subjects from an oppressive burthen, and the state will have a greater number of merchants, shopkeepers, and artists, who will be much more advantageous to the country than advocates.

“ Now, as the execution of so important a project cannot be the work of a single man, you will select persons whom you know to be possessed of the most information and integrity; you will distribute among them the different parts of the work, and you will afterwards assemble them all in a body, to deliberate with them respecting the best measures to be pursued.

“ The legislative commission may, likewise, continue to subsist, in order to supply any defect in the laws, to determine the true sense of them when they may appear equivocal, and to explain them when obscure.

“ But I will never suffer a judge, a tribunal, or a minister of state, to take upon them to interpret, extend, or restrain the meaning of the laws, still less to create new laws. Yet, as soon as he or they shall perceive, in the case of some doubtful point, any inconvenience or defect in the law or judicial arrangement, they must give notice of it to the legislative commission, who shall examine the matter relatively to the sense and object of the other laws, and lay before me the alterations or additions they may think necessary.

I abandon all these matters to your reflection; I charge you to prepare every thing necessary for the execution of the plan, and I promise to protect you in the most efficacious manner  
against

against all cabals, and contradictions that may be attempted to be opposed against you in the completion of this design.

I am, your affectionate king,

Potzdam, 14 April, 1750.

FREDERICK."

(53) I have now before my eyes a number of decrees addressed to persons who demanded justice of the chancellor. In the course of them we find proofs of the wonderful art with which those employed in the chancery could feign not to comprehend a complaint or a demand, and give such answers as to produce fresh demands, which were always paid for at the rate of 40 or 50 sols a line.

A foreigner, one day, complaining to the chancellor of some unjust proceedings and shameful acts of partiality in a particular tribunal, M. de Carmer, without examining the affair, replied to the complainant by reproaching him with want of respect to the tribunals, and forbidding him, with menaces, to repeat complaints of that nature. The stranger, enraged at so extraordinary an answer, takes a copy of the new code, and, repairing to the chancellor's hôtel, he says to him, "*Sir, I brought your excellency some complaints against a tribunal which has treated me in the most iniquitous manner. Instead of examining into the affair, you accuse me of want of respect for that tribunal, you threaten me, and forbid me to repeat my complaint. This conduct is contrary to the law you have yourself laid down, and which you may see here in your own code (shewing him a law of the new judicial order). This law orders you to answer all the complaints made to you; therefore, notwithstanding your prohibition, I will reiterate to you my complaint, until I have received such an answer as your place obliges you to give.*"

The chancellor, astonished at a language which he had never heard from the inhabitants of Brandenburg, did not utter a single word in answer. Two hours after, the foreigner

reigner renewed his complaint, and the chancellor sent for the papers relative to the affair in question: and, apparently, the tribunal was in the wrong; for, though no answer was given to the complainant, he was allowed to carry the matter before another court, which had been before refused him. And this proceeding the foreigner deemed a satisfaction.

This is the manner in which affairs were treated towards the end of Frederick's reign. I do not say that all these abuses are to be imputed to the chancellor himself; but, occupied as he was with the great objects of legislation, he left to ignorant or wicked subalterns the details of administration, and justice was not distributed whilst means were contriving for its distribution.

(54) The king had given these companies a privilege for 15 years. They were to export to China linens and other Prussian productions, to be exchanged in India for the first materials of that country. These two companies did not succeed.

(55) Every year a certain number of houses and other buildings were erected at Berlin and at Potsdam at the king's expence, and, on a certain day, the director annually waited on the king, who gave him drawings of the handsomest buildings in Italy, of which he had a great collection, made him lay out the ground plan, which he enlarged or diminished at his pleasure, and advanced the money before-hand to the undertakers. We have seen the abuses in these constructions.

When the houses were built, he gave them to the proprietors of the old houses which had been demolished; and if the ground belonged to himself, he bestowed them on some new fabric or person in his favour. At Potsdam, he gave away these houses on the condition of their leaving the first story for the soldiers. It is a singular spectacle, in walking through



through that town, to see nothing but palaces, and, in front, soldiers breeches and garters suspended on the columns or a statue.

(56) The following conversations will give some idea of the manner in which Frederick interested himself in the progress of agriculture and the happiness of the husbandmen.

In 1763, the privy counsellor de Rufsler having waited on the king in quality of provincial counsellor of the circle of Low Barnim, to congratulate him on the peace, the king said,

What does your circle stand in need of?

*Rufsler.* Of horses, fire, for the tillage of the lands; of rye for bread, and seed corn.

*The King.* I'll give you corn for bread and sowing; but I cannot give you horses.

*Rufsler.* I know, that, on the representations of M. de Brenkenhoff, your majesty has given all your baggage and artillery horses to the New Marche and Pomerania. But, no person has pleaded in favour of Low Barnim. If your majesty does not yourself look after it, it is a ruined country.

*The King.* Who are you?

*Rufsler.* I am Rufsler, who was employed in settling the boundaries of Silesia.

*The King.* Yes! Yes! I know you now. Assemble all the provincial counsellors of the Electoral Marche. I would speak with them.

*Rufsler.* Sire, they are all at Berlin, except two.

*The King.* Send messengers to those two, to repair, also, to Berlin, and on Thursday come with all the counsellors to the palace of Berlin; I will then talk more with you on the subject, and inform you how I would have the province relieved.

On the first of April, M. Rufsler appeared, at the head of the provincial counsellors, and, in their name and his own, addressed

addressed the king. As he was talking with rather too much warmth, and insisting that he was obliged to indemnify the province for the losses it had sustained, the king said :

Be silent ! Be silent ! and suffer me to make at least one observation. . . . Have you a pencil ?

*Rufiler.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* Well, then, write down what I shall dictate to you : the counsellors have only to draw up a state of what is wanting in their circles, as rye for bread, and seed corn, horses, oxen, and cows. Let them do this with the greatest accuracy, and return the day after to-morrow, when they shall know my will. But, let every thing be exact ; for I cannot give much.

On the day appointed the counsellors returned, and M. Rufiler was again the orator ; the king made them give him a list of all the poor gentlemen, to whom he distributed money, to one 8000 crowns, to others 6000, 4000, &c.

In 1779, the king, making a tour in a district of one of his states, had the following conversation with a forester and a bailiff :

*The King (passing by a slip of sandy waste land near Febrbellin).*  
Forester ! why is there nothing sown upon that land ?

*Forester.* Sire, that does not belong to your forests, but to the town fields. Here and there they have sown a few grains. To the right there, some fir cones have been planted.

*The King.* Who has planted them ?

*Forester.* Our high bailiff, there.

*The King (turning to the bailiff).* Tell my privy counsellor Michaelis, that something must be sown on these sands.—*(To the forester)* But do you know how they plant fir apples ?

*Forester.* Oh to be sure, sire.

*The*

*The King.* Well then! Let us see, how you would plant them, from east to west, or west to east?

*Forester.* From west to east.

*The King.* That's very well; but why?

*Forester.* Because the wind blows in general from the west.

*The King.* There is some sense in this.

The following are the particulars of another conversation which he held with M. Fromme, bailiff of Fehrbellin, during the same expedition.

*Fromme.* There, sire, are two new drains already, which we owe to your majesty's goodness, and which keep our hollows dry.

*The King.* Ah! ah! I am glad of it. Who are you?

*Fromme.* The bailiff of Fehrbellin.

*The King.* What may be your name?

*Fromme.* Fromme.

*The King.* Ah! ah! you are son of the provincial counsellor Fromme?

*Fromme.* Sire, with your permission, my father was counsellor bailiff of the bailiwick of Læme.

*The King.* Counsellor bailiff! That is not true. Your father was a provincial counsellor; I knew him very well. Tell me whether the drains I have made in this hollow have been useful to you?

*Fromme.* Oh! yes, sire.

*The King.* Have you more cattle than your predecessor?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire. I have in that farm-yard forty cows; and, in all, seventy more than he had.

*The King.* That's very well. You have not the distemper among the cattle in your district?

*Fromme.* No, sire.

*The King.* Has it been amongst you?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire.



*The King.* Make your cattle eat a great deal of fossil salt; you will have it no more.

*Fromme.* So I do, sire. But common salt is almost as good.

*The King.* Do not believe it. You must not pound your gemm salt, but expose it for the cattle to lick.

*Fromme.* I will certainly do so.

*The King.* Are there no other improvements to be made here?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire. There is the lake of Kremmensée, if that were drained, your majesty would have 1800 acres of meadow, on which colonists might be established. It would procure, likewise, a water passage for the district; which would prove very advantageous to Fehrbellin and Ruppin. Many articles might be transported by water from Mecklenbourg to Berlin.

*The King.* I believe you are right. But in procuring you these advantages, others might be ruined; the possessors of the lands at least; might they not?

*Fromme.* I beg your pardon, sire; the lands belong to the royal forests; and there are only birch-trees.

*The King.* Very well, if there are only birch-trees, the point is practicable. But take care you don't reckon without your host, and that the expences don't exceed the produce.

*Fromme.* There is no danger of that. For, in the first place, your majesty may consider it as certain that the lake would give 1800 acres, which would maintain six and thirty families, at 50 acres a family. If, after this, a slight toll were laid on the floated wood, and on boats passing on the new canal, the capital would render good interest.

*The King.* Very well! Tell all this to my privy counsellor Michaëlis. He understands these matters, and I advise you to address yourself to him for every thing, when you want to form new settlements any where. I do not mean to wait for whole colonies. Should there be but two or three families, you may speak to him immediately.

*Fromme.* I will not fail, sire.

*The King.* Can't I see Wusterau from hence? (*an estate belonging to general Zietzen.*)

*Fromme.* Yes, sire; there it is, to the right.

*The King.* Is the general there?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* Who told you so?

*Fromme.* M. de l'Estocq, a captain in his regiment, is quartered in my village. One of the general's grooms brought him a letter yesterday; it was from him I had this information.

*The King.* Has the general gained by the draining of the hollow?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire. He has built that farm on the right; and raised cottages, which he could not have done but for the draining.

*The King.* I am very glad of it. What is the name of the bailiff of Old Ruppin?

*Fromme.* Honig.

*The King.* How long has he been there?

*Fromme.* Since Whitsuntide.

*The King.* Since Whitsuntide! Where was he before?

*Fromme.* He was a canon.

*The King.* A canon! A canon! Who the deuce has made a bailiff of this canon?

*Fromme.* Sire, he is a young man of some property, whose ambition it was to have the honour of being your majesty's bailiff.

*The King.* But why did not the old one remain?

*Fromme.* He is dead.

*The King.* The widow might have kept the bailiwick.

*Fromme.* She has fallen into poverty.

*The King.* Woman's housekeeping, no doubt?

*Fromme.* Pardon me, sire. She conducted her house extremely well; but accidents have ruined her. These may affect

affect the best œconomist. As for myself, I suffered a great mortality two years ago, and have obtained no recompense. I am unable to restore myself to my former footing.

*The King.* My good friend, I suffer a little in my left ear to-day. I hear nothing upon that side.

*Fromme.* And the misfortune is, sire, that counsellor Michaëlis is troubled with the same complaint.

[*Fromme, fearing lest the king should be offended at this last remark, retired some paces backwards.*]

*The King.* Come along, bailiff, advance. Stay near the coach, but take care no accident happens to you. Only speak a little loud. Tell me the name of that village on the right?

*Fromme.* Langen.

*The King.* Whom does it belong to?

*Fromme.* One third to your majesty, a third to M. de Hagen, and the chapter of Berlin have also some vassals there.

*The King.* You mistake; it is the chapter of Magdebourg.

*Fromme.* I ask your majesty's pardon; it is the chapter of Berlin.

*The King.* That is not true; the chapter of Berlin have no vassals.

*Fromme.* Pardon me, sire, the chapter of Berlin have three vassals in the village of Karvensée, which depends on my bailiwick.

*The King.* You are wrong; it is the chapter of Magdebourg.

*Fromme.* Sire, I should be a very bad bailiff, if I did not know every person who has jurisdiction in my bailiwick.

*The King.* Ah! in that case you must be right. Let me talk to you a little. On the right there must be an estate; I don't recollect the name of it. Name to me a few of the estates that lie to the right.



*Fromme.* Buschow, Rodensleben, Sommerfeld, Beez, Karbe.

*The King.* Karbe, it is so; whom does that estate belong to?

*Fromme.* To M. de Kneesebeck.

*The King.* Has he served?

*Fromme.* Yes; he was a lieutenant or ensign in the guards.

*The King.* In the guards! (*reckoning on his fingers.*) You are right, he was a lieutenant in the guards. I am glad this estate is still in the family . . . . . Ah! do you know how long it is since I have been here?

*Fromme.* No, sire.

*The King.* Three and forty years. . . . . What village is that before us?

*Fromme.* Protzen.

*The King.* Whom does it belong to?

*Fromme.* To M. de Kleift.

*The King.* What Kleift is that?

*Fromme.* The son of general Kleift.

*The King.* Of what general Kleift?

*Fromme.* His brother was one of your majesty's aides-de-camp, and is now lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Kalckstein at Magdebourg.

*The King.* Ha! ha! his brother. Oh! I know the Kleifts very well. Has he served?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire; he was ensign in prince Ferdinand's regiment.

*The King.* Why did he quit the service?

*Fromme.* I do not know, sire.

*The King.* You may tell me; I have no particular motive in asking the question. Why did this man quit the service?

*Fromme.* Indeed, sire, I cannot tell.

[*The conversation was here interrupted by the king's arrival in a village, where general Ziethen was come to meet him.*

*The king got out of his coach to see him; and, on his return, said:]*

*The*

*The King.* Come, tell me seriously, do not you know why this Kleist quitted the service?

*Fromme.* Indeed, sire, I am ignorant of the reason.

*The King.* Hark you, are you content with the crop this year?

*Fromme.* Sire, it is very good.

*The King.* Very good! So much the better; they told me it was very bad.

*Fromme.* The winter corn has suffered a little from the frost; but, in return, the summer corn promises amply to repair that loss. . . . .

*The King.* What is the name of that village before us?

*Fromme.* Garz.

*The King.* To whom does it belong.

*Fromme.* To the counsellor of war De Quast.

*The King.* To whom?

*Fromme.* To the counsellor of war De Quast.

*The King.* Again! We are not talking about counsellors of war. I want to know to whom that village belongs.

*Fromme.* To M. de Quast.

*The King.* Very well; this is as you should answer . . . .  
Do you sow wheat?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* How much have you sown?

*Fromme.* About fifteen quarters.

*The King.* How much did your predecessor sow?

*Fromme.* About eighteen bushels.

*The King.* Why do you sow so much more than he?

*Fromme.* I have had the honour to tell your majesty that I have seventy cows more than my predecessor, consequently I can manure my fields better, and cultivate more corn.

*The King.* But, why don't you cultivate hemp?

*Fromme.* It does not thrive here. It does better in cold climates. Our rope-makers purchase the Russian hemp cheaper, and of a better quality, than I can furnish it.

*The King.* But what do you sow where you formerly had hemp?

*Fromme.* Wheat.

*The King.* Why don't you cultivate madder?

*Fromme.* It does not grow well. The soil is not good enough.

*The King.* You only imagine so; you should have tried the experiment.

*Fromme.* I have tried it, and it does not succeed . . . .

*The King.* What do you sow where you would have sown madder?

*Fromme.* Wheat

*The King.* Well! continue, therefore, to sow wheat. The people of your bailiwick must be at their ease.

*Fromme.* Yes, sire, I can prove, by the book of mortgages, that they have capitals to the amount of 50,000 crowns.

*The King.* Ay, this is going on well:

*Fromme.* A peasant, who died three years ago, had eleven thousand crowns at the bank.

*The King.* How much?

*Fromme.* Eleven thousand crowns.

*The King.* This is the state in which you must always preserve them.

*Fromme.* Yes, sire, it is well for the peasant to be at his ease; but then he becomes insolent: as, for instance, those of this district, who have accused me seven times to your majesty, to get freed from public services.

*The King.* They had reason, perhaps.

*Fromme.* I beg your majesty's pardon. The affair was examined, and it was found that I had not harrassed the subjects, that I had always been in the right, and that I had never required more than what was due. Yet matters remained as they were; the peasants were not punished. Your majesty always takes the part of your subjects, and the poor bailiff is always in the wrong.

*The*



*The King.* Oh! my good friend, I can easily conceive that the decision is always in your favour. You make a present, no doubt, of a little butter, a few capons and turkies, to the counsellor of your department.

*Fromme.* Sire, that is impossible; corn is not at so good a price: if we did not pick up a few crowns elsewhere, we could never pay the rent.

*The King.* Where do you sell your butter, your capons, and your turkies?

*Fromme.* At Berlin, sire.

*The King.* Why not at Ruppin?

*Fromme.* The townsmen in general have cows.

*The King.* But your poultry! these you might sell at Ruppin?

*Fromme.* There are but four staff officers quartered in that town; and, as for the inhabitants, they are not delicate: they are satisfied with pork.

*The King.* Ay, ay, you are in the right. The Berliners love good cheer. Well! do with the peasants what you please, but don't harraßs them.

*The King* (*seeing a number of peasants at harvest, who formed a double row whetting their sickles*). What the deuce are these fellows about? Do they want to ask money from me?

*Fromme.* Oh! no, sire, they are full of joy at your visiting their country.

*The King.* So much the better, for I shall not give them any thing. . . . . Do you make any trials of foreign grain?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire. This year I sowed some Spanish barley; but it does not thrive. I'll sow no more. But the Holstein rye with the large stalk seems to deserve cultivation.

*The King.* What rye is that?

*Fromme.* It grows in Holstein, in the low grounds. It has never returned me less than ten for one.

*The King.* Hold! hold! ten for one, that is a little too much

much. . . . . But give me some idea of what this hollow was before the waters were drained off.

*Fromme.* It was entirely filled with little hillocks, between which the water settled. In the driest years, we could never get the hay from it, but were obliged to put it into large cocks, and in winter, when it froze hard, we went for it. Now that we have levelled the hillocks, and the water is drawn off by the drains your majesty has made, the hollow, as your majesty sees, is dry, and we can get the hay from it when we chuse.

*The King.* Have your peasants more cattle than heretofore?

*Fromme.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* How many?

*Fromme.* Some have one cow, others two, according to their circumstances.

*The King.* But how many more have they than formerly on the whole, as near as you can guess?

*Fromme.* About one hundred and twenty head. . . . .  
&c.

[*The king, having viewed the country through a telescope, made the bailiffs Fromme and Klasius, and an inspector of buildings, called Menzelius, approach, and said to them :*]

*The King.* Come hither. Do you see that marshy ground to the left? That must be cultivated. And this likewise to the right, as far as it extends. . . What trees are those?

*Fromme.* Willows and oaks.

*The King.* You may take up the willows and let the oaks remain. They may be sold, or put to some use. When that shall be cleared out, I should suppose that you might introduce three hundred families more, or thereabouts, and 500 cows. What say you?

*Fromme (after a moment's silence).* Yes, sire, perhaps so.

*The King.* Listen! You may answer me with the utmost confidence. There will be a few families more or less. I know very well that this cannot be exactly ascertained at once.

once. I have not been there; I do not know the ground. If I did know it, I could tell; for I know as well as you how many families may be placed on a spot of ground.

*Menzelius.* But this hollow, fire, is still in common.

*The King.* That does not signify; it must be exchanged, or an equivalent paid. That must be settled in the best way we can. I don't want it for nothing. Here, (*to a bailiff,*) hark you, you have only to write to my chamber of finances an account of what I wish to have cleared out; I will give you the money: (*to another*) Do you go to Berlin, and tell my privy counsellor Michaelis, by word of mouth, what I am determined further to have cleared out, &c. &c.

(57) In 1782 was reckoned, in the Marche of Brandenburg,

	crowns.
1. For indemnities for bad crops in some districts	200,000.
2. For buildings at Berlin and Potzdam - -	433,000.
3. For clearing out lands and settling new colonies in the Electoral Marche - - - -	200,000.
4. For the settlement of 66 families and several woollen manufactures, as well as for the construction of several houses in the towns of Luckenwalde and Treuenbriezen - -	80,000.
5. For the establishment of a watch manufactory in the manner of Geneva, and of a paper manu- factory like those in Holland - - - -	62,000.
<i>In the New Marche.</i>	
6. To rebuild the town of Falkenbourg, burnt down - - - - -	7,000.
7. For the dykes on the Warta - - - - -	6,000.
8. For a hundred and six families of labourers or others - - - - -	24,000.
<i>In Pomerania.</i>	
9. For 162 new families - - - -	25,000.
10. Ad-	



			crowns.
10.	Advances made the nobles for improvements, &c.	175,000.	
11.	To rebuild the town of Jacobshagen, burnt down	39,000.	
12.	For the establishment of 13 manufactures of wool, leather, starch, oil cloths, &c.	- - 33,000.	
13.	Advances to manufacturers, and for warehouses	12,000.	
	<i>In Eastern Prussia.</i>		
14.	For a manufacture of sail cloth at Koningsberg	6,000.	
	<i>In Western Prussia.</i>		
15.	For the re-establishment of the ruined Polish villages	- - - 100,000.	
16.	For improvements in the different bailiwicks	65,000.	
17.	For new colonies	- - - 94,000	
	<i>In the Duchy of Magdebourg.</i>		
18.	For the draining of a morass called Fiemer- bruch, the lands of which, amounting to 30,000 acres, were distributed among diffe- rent individuals,	- - - 192,000-	
19.	For several other morasses drained	- - 134,000.	
	<i>In the Principality of Halberstadt.</i>		
20.	For buildings in the town of Kroppenstedt	32,000.	
	<i>In Silesia.</i>		
21.	For buildings in several towns	- - - 60,000.	
22.	For houses burnt	- - - 40,000.	
23.	For clearing out new settlements of villages, and new manufactures	- - - 88,000.	
24.	For presents to individuals	- - - 4,000.	
	Sum total for the year 1782	- - 2,118,000.	
	<b>Expences of the same nature amounted,</b>		
	In the year 1783, to	- 2,700,000 crowns.	
	In 1784, to	- 2,236,000	
	In 1785, to	- 2,901,756	

(58) When Brenkenhof was page to prince Leopold of Dessau, he began to trade in pigeons, and undertook to furnish the two grandsons of the prince, who were very fond of them, with the handsomest that could be found.

The prince, who liked the chase, wished to cross the race of wild boars with that of swine. Brenkenhof was employed to look out for swine the most resembling wild boars, and the prince gave him a horse for each of them. These presents first gave him the idea of trafficking in horses, by which he gained considerably.

Having purchased by accident some bushels of Archangel corn, he sowed it; carefully collected the seed; and it so multiplied as to enable him in a few years to furnish all the North of Germany with it. Brenkenhof was very rich when he entered into the service of the king of Prussia.

(59) Brenkenhof ruined himself in the king's service; he preferred the glory of accomplishing extraordinary points to his private interest. Frederick, like other great men, had often the advantage of being served with enthusiasm, and disinterestedly by men of the first merit.

Brenkenhof was the victim of his zeal. He died poor. The following is a letter which he dictated to the king when at the point of death:

"SIRE,

"It is a favour, and not an act of justice, I demand of your majesty. I have served your majesty twenty years with the greatest zeal, and have consumed the best years of my life in your service. In Pomerania and the New Marche I have formed several establishments which have constituted the happiness of a great number of men. During these years of service, I have expended a great part of the fortune I brought with me from the principality of Dessau, having always preferred your majesty's interests to my own, and been engaged, by patriotic zeal alone, and the  
"desire

“ desire of gaining more and more the good graces of your  
 “ majesty, to make several ruinous experiments at my own  
 “ expence.

“ The new acquisitions in Poland threw me into deep  
 “ expences, as a great number of Russians and Poles were  
 “ constantly lodged at my house. The administration of  
 “ the district of Nez has been no less chargeable to me, there  
 “ being neither chamber nor college of justice at that place,  
 “ which obliged me to employ foreigners on all occasions, who  
 “ received no pay.

“ I have expended considerable sums out of my own for-  
 “ tune, in the construction of the canal of Bromberg.

“ In the commission of improvement for Pomerania, I  
 “ found myself, as it were, entangled with a set of wretches,  
 “ to whom I was obliged to give a great deal of money to  
 “ avoid clamour.

“ I have employed, therefore, the greatest part of my for-  
 “ tune in the service of your majesty. But, I would not wish;  
 “ after my death, to have my reputation attacked; and  
 “ should the melioration fund appear deficient, and my ene-  
 “ mies take that opportunity of throwing a slur upon my  
 “ memory, I most humbly beseech your majesty, in that  
 “ case, to employ the minister Michaëlis alone upon the im-  
 “ provements which remained for me to realize, and to see  
 “ them executed under his sole direction, without the inter-  
 “ ference of the chambers,\* and to correspond with the  
 “ guardians who shall be appointed for my children.

“ In the space of two years, all these improvements will  
 “ be completed, and the accounts settled.

\* Brenkenhof well knew the chambers. We see by this how jealous  
 these colleges were of those who wished to do good without them, and  
 how they neglected no point to ruin them. This confirms what we  
 have remarked concerning the new establishments of manufactures.

“ I thank



"I thank your majesty, on my death-bed, for all the favours with which you have honoured me; and die,

"Your majesty's, &c.

"Carzig, 21st May, 1780."

Brenkenhof died a few hours after he dictated this letter. His enemies availed themselves of his death, to condemn his conduct to the king; his merits were forgotten!!

(60) It has been published in several works that Frederick never condemned any person to death; than which nothing is more false, especially with respect to soldiers. Towards the end of his reign, a singular rage had introduced itself into the army. Despair frequently led the soldiers to commit suicide, and others to perpetrate crimes in order to be executed. The latter usually murdered a child; then discovered their crime, and delivered themselves into the hands of justice. This atrocity was inspired in them by the following ideas. Disgusted with the life which military tyranny rendered odious to them, they imagined that by killing an infant they should send a soul to heaven; and that this soul, as a recompense for having delivered them from the dangers of this world, would intercede with God in their favour, and bring legions of angels to meet them, and receive their soul at the moment of punishment. Not a year passed without two or three murders of this kind.

(61) At most of the reviews, the king made a point of appearing discontented with some regiment, and usually pretended to have found a strong cause for censure against some general, colonel, or other chief. The king was extremely short-sighted, and it sometimes happened, that, on the regiments filing before him, he ill-treated an officer whose troop was in the very best condition, whilst he said nothing to such as were really culpable of negligence. Things were at such a pass, that some of the commanding officers could easily con-

conjecture whose turn would prove next. In one of the latter years of Frederick's reign, a letter appeared in the public papers, written by Frederick to his generals, wherein he treats them in the harshest manner; yet nothing is more certain than that they did not merit these reproaches.

(62) It is an error to imagine that the Prussian infantry only use fire-arms in action; and this passage, which is taken from *Reflections on some Changes to be introduced in the Mode of making War*, sent by Frederick to general Fouquet, might confirm in their error such persons as are already of that opinion. But, to form a just idea of the usage and the sentiments of Frederick, we have only to read *article XXII. of his instructions to his generals*. "I permit," he observes, "the Prussian troops, as well as others, to occupy advantageous posts, and to make a momentary use of them, in order to derive advantage from their artillery; but, they must quit this post in an instant *to march intrepidly to the enemy*, who, instead of attacking, are thus attacked themselves, and perceive their whole project overthrown; for, all the movements you make in the presence of your enemy, which they do not expect, produce an excellent effect. On these occasions, *I forbid my infantry to fire*, for that only stops them, and it is not the number of enemies slain, which gives you the victory, but the ground you have gained."

(63) In the same instructions of the king to his generals, it is declared that the surest method is to march intrepidly, and in order, to the enemy, and always to gain ground.

(64) *Declaration of the empress-queen on the subject of her claims on Poland, of the 11th of September, 1772.*

"Maria-Theresa, &c. &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, and to all such as may have interest therein, Be it known, That, having consulted, on the actual state

"of

“ of Poland, with the empress of Russia and the king of  
“ Prussia, we have agreed, each of us in particular, to en-  
“ force our ancient claims to certain parts of that kingdom,  
“ and to re-unite them to our respective crowns. In conse-  
“ quence, we have made our troops occupy that tract of  
“ country which corresponds with our claims, and is en-  
“ closed in the following limits: the right bank of the  
“ Vistula, from the duchy of Silesia above Sandomir, to the  
“ mouth of the San, passing from thence by Fronepole and  
“ Rubreslow to the river Bog; then from beyond the Bog,  
“ along the frontiers of Red Russia, where the confines of  
“ Volhinia and Podolia begin, to those of Zbaras; from  
“ thence, in a right line, to the Dnieper, towards the spot  
“ where the little rivulet Ponokeze falls into that river, in-  
“ tersecting a part of Podolia, and the frontiers which separate  
“ Pocutia from Moldavia. As we are now to take possession  
“ of the aforesaid territories, for this purpose we have named  
“ the count de Pergen, minister of state, and executing the  
“ duty of our marshal in Lower Austria, our commissary in  
“ Poland, with full powers to superintend those provinces,  
“ occupied by our troops, and concert all necessary measures  
“ for a wise administration. Accordingly, we enjoin all  
“ persons included in the said limits, vassals, inhabitants, and  
“ wealthy proprietors, of whatever state, order, or condition,  
“ ecclesiastics and seculars, magistrates of towns and burghs,  
“ all and every one of them, without any exception what-  
“ ever, to acknowledge and honour the said count de Pergen  
“ as our plenipotentiary commissioner and governor, flatter-  
“ ing ourselves that no person will be found who shall refuse  
“ literally to execute what he shall order in our name; and  
“ though the day for rendering solemn homage be not yet  
“ fixed, it will not be delayed. Let the inhabitants who  
“ are under our protection remain tranquil, as if they had  
“ already taken the oath of fidelity; by no other means can  
“ they merit our good graces: should any person, neverthe-  
“ less,



“ less, dare to dispute our orders, an offence of which, how-  
 “ ever, we do not entertain the least apprehension, be it  
 “ known, that, forced in such a case to forget our wonted  
 “ clemency, he shall suffer an exemplary punishment.”

*Letters patent of the king of Prussia, declaratory of his rights  
 and pretensions on Poland, of the 13th September, 1772.*

“ We, Frederick, by the grace of God, king of Prussia,  
 “ margrave of Brandenbourg, &c. &c. to all states, bishops,  
 “ abbots, prelates, palatinates, lords of manors, starosts, trea-  
 “ surers, and provincial judges, to those of the equestrian  
 “ order, vassals and gentlemen, to all magistrates and inha-  
 “ bitants of towns, to residents in the country, and, in ge-  
 “ neral, to all the subjects and inhabitants, as well civil as  
 “ ecclesiastical, of the countries of Prussia and Pomerania,  
 “ hitherto possessed by the crown of Poland, as likewise of  
 “ the districts within the Netze, which have heretofore form-  
 “ ed a part of great Poland, health and assurance of our royal  
 “ favour and benevolence.

“ It is notorious to all persons conversant in history, and  
 “ we have set forth incontestable proofs of it to all Europe  
 “ in a more particular deduction of our rights, that the  
 “ crown of Poland has for many ages unjustly possessed, and  
 “ detained from the dukes of Pomerania, and, after them,  
 “ from the electoral house of Brandenbourg, the part of Po-  
 “ merania situated between the present frontiers of that duchy  
 “ and the rivers Vistula and Netze, commonly called Po-  
 “ merelia, as well as from the last-mentioned house in par-  
 “ ticular, the district of Great Poland between the Dratze and  
 “ the Netze. The male branch of the dukes of Pomerania  
 “ and the line of Dantzick being extinct in 1295, the dukes  
 “ of Pomerania of the line of Stettin, being their nearest col-  
 “ lateral feudals, and springing from the same stock with  
 “ them, ought of right to have succeeded them in their  
 “ possessions; but of this they were despoiled, with as much  
 “ violence

" violence as injustice, by the superior force of the Teutonic  
" order, and, after them, by the power of the kings of Poland.  
" The dukes of Pomerania, however, have never renounced  
" their rights to this hereditary duchy of Pomerania, or Po-  
" merelia, but have always regarded it as the ancient patri-  
" mony of their ancestors. Thus did they transmit them,  
" on their extinction in 1637, to their heirs general and  
" successors the electors of Brandenburg. As for the dis-  
" trict of Great Poland, situated between the Dratze and the  
" Netze, it originally belonged to the New Marche of Bran-  
" denbourg, and the margraves of Brandenburg remained  
" tranquil possessors of it till the commencement of the 15th  
" century, when Sigismund, king of Hungary and elector  
" of Brandenburg, having mortgaged the New Marche  
" to the Teutonic order, the kings of Poland, in their wars  
" with that order, took possession of this district by force,  
" and have retained it without any cession of it by treaty, ei-  
" ther on the part of the Teutonic order, the electors, or the  
" German empire. The crown of Poland, possessing both  
" these countries so unjustly, cannot, on the principles of all  
" polished nations, plead prescription as a right; besides that  
" we have still other considerable, and as well-founded pre-  
" tensions, as has been fully proved.

" We cannot, nor will we suffer any longer the injustice  
" committed in these respects towards our royal and electoral  
" house; and it is our firm intention to employ all the force  
" it has pleased Providence to grant us, not only to assert  
" our rights to those countries which the crown of Poland  
" has dismembered from our duchy of Pomerania and the  
" marche of Brandenburg, but to procure a legitimate and  
" adequate compensation for the enjoyment of those pro-  
" vinces for so many centuries withholden from us and our  
" ancestors. For these causes, and for this end, we have  
" thought proper to take possession of the districts of  
" Great Poland beyond the Netze, as well as of all the

“ countries of Prussia and Pomerania, on both sides of the  
“ Vistula, which the crown of Poland has hitherto possessed  
“ under the name of Polish Prussia, excepting the cities of  
“ Dantzick and of Thorn; and we hope that the republic  
“ of Poland, after mature reflection, considering the cir-  
“ cumstances, and weighing well the validity of our claims,  
“ will of herself agree to come to an amicable arrangement  
“ with us.

“ We wish, therefore, solemnly to make known this our  
“ resolution, by the present letters patent, to all the states  
“ and inhabitants of the countries of Prussia and Pomerania  
“ heretofore possessed by the crown of Poland, as well as of  
“ the districts within the Netze, which have been deemed to  
“ belong to Great Poland; we enjoin them, in the most se-  
“ rious and most express manner, to make no opposition to  
“ this act of possession, nor in any way to resist the com-  
“ missioners and military who shall be entrusted with its ex-  
“ ecution, but to submit voluntarily to our government, and  
“ to consider us as their king and legitimate sovereign; to  
“ demean themselves towards us as it becometh faithful and  
“ obedient subjects, and no longer to have any relation with  
“ the crown of Poland. On our side, we are disposed, as we  
“ assure them by the present, to protect and maintain them  
“ in their possessions and rights, both civil and ecclesiastical,  
“ and especially those of the Roman Catholic religion, in the  
“ free exercise of their worship, and in general so to govern  
“ the whole country as that all its inhabitants who think  
“ well and reasonably shall be happy and contented, and  
“ have no cause to regret the change; but, in order more  
“ efficaciously to assure ourselves of their fidelity and sub-  
“ mission by a public and general homage, we have thought  
“ fit, for that purpose, to fix upon the twenty-seventh of  
“ the present month of September, in our town of Ma-  
“ rienbourg.

“ We order, therefore, by these presents, all the states of  
“ Pomerania



“ Pomerania and Prussia, as well as of the districts within  
“ the Netze, except the cities of Thorn and Dantzick, to  
“ repair to the said town of Marienbourg two days after that  
“ fixed for the homage, to announce their arrival to the  
“ commission sitting there on our part, to see it registered  
“ by the proper officer, to produce their full powers, then  
“ to appear at the time and place which shall be notified to  
“ them, there to take the oath of fidelity and submission to  
“ us, and to acknowledge us, our heirs and successors, for  
“ their legitimate kings and sovereigns. To this effect, it  
“ is our will and pleasure, that bishops, abbots, prelates,  
“ palatines, lords of manors, starosts, treasurers, and pro-  
“ vincial judges, shall all and each of them appear in person  
“ at Marienbourg, or by deputies provided with sufficient  
“ powers; and the other states represented by deputies,  
“ chosen from amongst the chief of them, and provided like-  
“ wise with the necessary powers, and this in such a man-  
“ ner as that there shall appear from each district at least  
“ four nobles, four ecclesiastics, and six mayors of villages,  
“ and from the magistracy of each town two burgomasters  
“ and a syndic, who shall be sent and duly authorized to  
“ perform public and general homage for the whole country.  
“ It is our will, likewise, that each of these deputies shall  
“ bring with him an exact list, signed in due form, and ju-  
“ ridically attested by the magistracy of the place, of all  
“ persons of the equestrian order, and of the nobles present  
“ and absent, who have possessions in the districts and towns  
“ of which they are the representatives, as well as of the  
“ priests and magistrates of those places in whose name they  
“ are to do homage, which list they shall produce and deliver  
“ to our commission.

“ We hope that all the inhabitants will conform them-  
“ selves to the tenor of these letters patent; but if, contrary  
“ to our expectation, any one shall be wanting, and not take  
“ the required oath of fidelity, but refuse to submit to our  
“ domination,

“ domination, and to acknowledge us for his sovereign, and  
 “ attempt to resist our troops and the persons charged with  
 “ the execution of our orders, or render himself in general  
 “ culpable, or suspected of infidelity and disobedience, he,  
 “ and all such persons, may expect that we shall proceed  
 “ against them, without distinction of persons, with all the  
 “ severity practised on like occasions. In faith of which,  
 “ and to the end that no person may plead ignorance of our  
 “ intentions, we have ourselves signed the present letters  
 “ patent with our own hand, affixed our seal, &c. &c.

“ FREDERICK.”

*Declaration delivered to the King and Republic of Poland, by  
 Baron de Stackelberg, Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia, in  
 the Name of her Imperial Majesty.*

“ The powers contiguous to Poland have been so often in-  
 “ volved in the troubles which arose during the interregnums  
 “ of that kingdom, as to induce them, from the recollection  
 “ of past times, seriously to occupy themselves with the af-  
 “ fairs of that state, even on the vacancy of the throne occa-  
 “ sioned by the death of king Augustus III. From this  
 “ consideration, and in order to prevent the fatal effects of  
 “ the dissensions which might arise on account of this last  
 “ vacancy of the throne, the court of Petersburg anxiously  
 “ came forward to effect an union of opinions in favour of  
 “ the candidate who might be at once the most worthy of  
 “ the throne and the most agreeable to his fellow-citizens  
 “ and neighbours. She employed herself at the same time  
 “ in endeavours to rectify several abuses in the constitution  
 “ of the state. The court of Berlin seconded the measures  
 “ of her ally, and the court of Vienna wishing, on her side,  
 “ to concur in the success of views so laudable, in order to  
 “ avoid the possible danger of augmenting difficulties, by en-  
 “ creasing the number of those who should interfere directly  
 “ in the internal affairs of Poland, thought proper to adopt

“ a neu-

"a neutrality, not only in this respect, but likewise concerning the war which eventually broke out between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

"From all these measures have resulted the free and legal election of king Stanislaus, the present monarch, as well as several useful establishments. Every circumstance seemed to announce to Poland and her neighbours the most uninterrupted tranquillity in future; but, unhappily, at the very moment when there was reason to hope for every advantage from this state of affairs, the spirit of discord, infecting one part of the nation, destroyed in an instant all these expectations. Citizens took up arms against each other, and factions usurped the legal authority, which they abused in contempt of the laws, good order, and the public safety. Justice, the administration of affairs, commerce, even agriculture itself, every thing was destroyed. The natural connection between neighbouring powers make those powers already feel the most disagreeable consequences of all these disorders. They have long obliged them to adopt, as a precaution, the most expensive measures to secure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; and they expose them, whilst the plan for the annihilation of that kingdom remains an undecided point, to the danger of seeing that harmony and friendship, which as yet subsist between them, disturbed. All these circumstances, therefore, call aloud for a prompt remedy to such multiplied evils, the most disagreeable effects of which are felt by the subjects even of the neighbouring powers, and the causes of which, if not provided against, would, in all probability, produce changes in the political system of this part of Europe. So many reasons of the greatest importance do not permit his majesty the king of Prussia, her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Imperial majesty the empress of all the Russias, any longer to defer the resolution of taking a decisive part in so critical a conjuncture.



“ juncture. These powers have determined amongst them-  
“ selves to endeavour, without loss of time, and with one  
“ accord, to restore tranquillity and good order to Poland,  
“ and to establish the ancient constitution of that state, and  
“ the liberties of the nation, on a solid foundation.

“ But as in preventing, at this moment, the ruin and ar-  
“ bitrary dismemberment of that kingdom, by the happy  
“ effects of the friendship and good understanding which sub-  
“ sist between them, they are not all entitled to look for  
“ equal success, and, as they, also, have considerable claims  
“ on the possessions of the republic, which they cannot think  
“ of abandoning to the result of mere chance, they have  
“ agreed and determined, among themselves, to assert, at the  
“ same time, their ancient rights and legitimate claims on the  
“ possessions of the republic, which each of them will be  
“ ready to justify in proper time and place. In consequence,  
“ his majesty the king of Prussia, her majesty the empress-  
“ queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her majesty the em-  
“ press of all the Russias, having reciprocally communicated  
“ the statement of their several rights and pretensions, and  
“ come to an amicable agreement, will take an equivalent  
“ proportioned to them, and enter upon the possession of  
“ such of the Polish territories as may prove the best calcu-  
“ lated to establish henceforward a more natural and more  
“ certain boundary between them: each of the three pow-  
“ ers reserving to themselves the power of hereafter giving  
“ a state of the partition, by which their majesties renounce  
“ from the present moment all rights, demands, and preten-  
“ sions, repetition of damages and interests which they may  
“ now have or claim with respect to the subjects and posses-  
“ sions of the republic. Their said majesties have thought  
“ proper to announce their intentions to the whole Polish  
“ nation in general, inviting them to banish, or at least sus-  
“ pend, all spirit of turbulence and sedition; to the end, that,  
“ by assembling legally in diet, they may labour, in concert  
“ with

"with the three courts, at the means of restoring internal  
 "order and tranquillity on a solid basis, and, also, confirm,  
 "by formal acts, the exchange of titles and precautions of  
 "each power touching the equivalent of which they have  
 "taken possession."

(65) The Polish minister delivered to the foreign ministers  
 resident at Warsaw copies of the declarations of the courts  
 of Vienna, Russia, and Berlin, with a note, by which he  
 solicited, in the name of the king, the good offices of their  
 respective courts to prevent the dismemberment of Poland.

Stanislaus-Augustus returned the following answer, dated  
 the 17th of September, 1772, to the declarations of the courts  
 of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin:

"The undersigned, ministers of his majesty the king and  
 "of the republic of Poland, having laid before his majesty the  
 "declarations delivered to them by the Baron de Rewitzki,  
 "envoy extraordinary from their Imperial, Royal, and Aposto-  
 "lic majesties, dated the 2d of September, 1772, by the ba-  
 "ron de Stackelberg, minister plenipotentiary of her Imperial  
 "majesty of all the Russias, dated the 18th of the same  
 "month, and by M. Benoit, minister plenipotentiary of his  
 "majesty the king of Prussia, dated also the 18th of the same  
 "month; the king has, in consequence, taken the advice  
 "of the senate thereon, and the undersigned are ordered to  
 "make the following answer:

"The successful and disinterested pains by which her ma-  
 "jesty the empress of all the Russias contributed to the main-  
 "tenance of the tranquillity of Poland, during the late in-  
 "terregnum, as well as in the free choice of the reigning  
 "sovereign, unanimously chosen; the concurrence of his  
 "majesty the king of Prussia for the same end, and the neu-  
 "trality at that time adopted by her majesty the empress-  
 "queen of Hungary and Bohemia; are circumstances  
 "which, approved as they must always have been by his

“ majesty, will never be effaced from his memory. It is  
“ the more agreeable to him to find the regulations of in-  
“ ternal establishments, ordained by the laws of the first  
“ diets after the death of Augustus III. considered as useful  
“ and rational, in the declarations of these three powers,  
“ as he has often wished to see the emanations of the sove-  
“ reign power judged favourably of by all his neighbours.  
“ Europe has been long informed of the original and suc-  
“ cessive causes of the troubles of Poland ; and it is, likewise,  
“ known that the king and the best part of the nation have  
“ employed all the means in their power to prevent and put  
“ a stop to their progress. These pains have, unfortunately,  
“ proved ineffectual, and the consequences of such disorders,  
“ undoubtedly, are dreadful. The legitimate power has  
“ been set at nought by some, and anarchy has extended it-  
“ self throughout almost all the provinces. All Poland has  
“ been trampled on, impoverished, and laid waste, as well  
“ by its own citizens as by foreign troops. In a word, five  
“ years of unheard-of misfortunes have ruined this kingdom,  
“ and made it sigh ardently after peace and good order. The  
“ engagement entered into by the three powers efficaciously  
“ to concur in that object, contains a project full of huma-  
“ nity, the declarations of which the king could not but  
“ have received with the most lively gratitude, were it not  
“ that the second part of these declarations gave place to other  
“ sentiments of surprise and grief ; they contain the recital  
“ of considerable pretensions which the three courts have  
“ formed against the miserably devoted Poland, of the plan  
“ agreed on in common for this purpose, and of the actual  
“ taking of possession. The scrupulous attention with  
“ which the king and republic of Poland have, at all times,  
“ endeavoured to fulfil their engagements towards other  
“ powers ; the laws of good neighbourhood, so religiously  
“ observed on the part of Poland ; the respectful manner in  
“ which the king has, on so many occasions, represented the  
various



“ various subjects of complaint which he has unfortunately  
“ been reduced to make relative to the conduct of his neigh-  
“ bours ; the situation of Poland, so worthy the compassion  
“ of generous and sensible hearts ; all these circumstances  
“ should have called forth, as they merited, proceedings of  
“ reciprocal benevolence, and for ever have effaced the idea  
“ of engaging in enterprizes so injurious to her rights and  
“ the legitimacy of her possessions. The property of the  
“ republic in all the provinces is founded upon the most  
“ solid and authentic ground imaginable, upon an enjoyment  
“ of several ages, acknowledged and maintained by the most  
“ solemn treaties, and especially by those of Oliva and of  
“ Welhau, which the house of Austria, and the crowns of  
“ France, England, Spain, and Sweden, have guarantied,  
“ by the treaty of 1686 with the Russian empire ; by the  
“ express and recent declarations of the same power ; by that  
“ of the king of Prussia in 1764 ; and, finally, by the subsisting  
“ treaties with the house of Austria : on these are founded  
“ the rights of the republic. They are here only generally  
“ pointed out, reserving to ourselves the exposition of the  
“ specific proofs, at a proper time and place.

“ What titles, then, can the three courts oppose to these ?  
“ If they be titles, drawn forth from the obscurity of remote  
“ periods, from the times of transient revolutions, which  
“ elevated, overturned, gave, and restored states in the course  
“ of a few months or years ; these titles (were they admitted)  
“ should reunite to Poland provinces heretofore attached to  
“ her, but actually possessed by the very powers, who, at  
“ this day, form pretensions against a portion of her terri-  
“ tories. But, as it cannot be denied, that transactions,  
“ buried under the oblivion of ages, and annihilated by pos-  
“ terior stipulations, are contrary to the present dismember-  
“ ment, so cannot these titles be admitted, without weaken-  
“ ing the security of the possessions of every sovereignty in  
“ the world, without shaking the foundations of every  
throne.

“ throne. The same powers, who in the aforesaid declara-  
 “ tions contend that the state of Poland does not permit them  
 “ to hope to obtain justice from her in the ordinary way, can-  
 “ not be ignorant that the present situation of the country is  
 “ but momentary and accidental, and that it is in their own  
 “ power to put an end to it when they think proper. As  
 “ soon as they shall consent, the republic of Poland will  
 “ return to the tranquil, legitimate, and free exercise of  
 “ her sovereignty; and this restoration would become the  
 “ proper time to state their pretensions and to discuss them.  
 “ This is the conduct which might have been expected from  
 “ the equity of the three courts, and which there was even  
 “ room to hope for, from the contents of a letter from the  
 “ empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia to the king, dated  
 “ the 26th of January, 1771. But the proceedings of  
 “ the three courts being of such a nature as to furnish  
 “ his majesty with the most serious matter of complaint,  
 “ and the duties of the crown not permitting him to pass  
 “ it over in silence, he solemnly declares that he considers the  
 “ present occupation of the Polish provinces by the courts of  
 “ Vienna, Petersburgh, and Berlin, as unjust, violent, and  
 “ contrary to his legitimate rights. He definitively ap-  
 “ peals to treaties, which guaranty the appurtenances of his  
 “ kingdom, &c.” Signed, Andrew Młodziejowski, bishop  
 of Posen, grand chancellor of the crown; Michael prince  
 Czartorinski, grand chancellor of Lithuania; John de  
 Borch, sub-chancellor of the crown.

(66) *Historical Proofs against the Titles set forth by the King  
 of Prussia in his Manifesto.*

“ Conrad, duke of Moravia, issuing from three kings of  
 “ Poland, that he might be able to oppose the inroads of  
 “ the Prussians, addressed himself, in 1229, to the Teutonic  
 “ knights, and gave them the country of Culm, and that  
 “ which lies between the Vistula, the Mecker, and the Tre-  
 “ benda,

"benda, on condition of their protecting him from fresh  
 "insults. The Poles pretend, however, that they took pos-  
 "session against the will of Conrad. The knights, discou-  
 "raged with the expeditions against Palestine, flocked to the  
 "standard of their chief Herman de Solza; they carried on  
 "a bloody war with the Prussians, got possession of their  
 "country, and subjected them to their dominion. Livonia,  
 "Semigallia, and Courland, underwent the same fate. Her-  
 "man de Solza now took the title of grand master, and his  
 "lieutenant in Prussia that of *landmeister*. The unfortu-  
 "nate event of the croisades occasioned a considerable influx  
 "of knights into that part of Poland in 1291. Become so-  
 "vereigns, they ceased to be religious, and forgot what they  
 "owed to the duke of Moravia. The Jagellons attempted,  
 "in vain, to oppose the authority of the popes to their am-  
 "bition; the knights usurped fresh portions of Poland and  
 "the grand duchy of Lithuania. In 1306, they fixed their  
 "chief residence in Prussia, and admitted into their order  
 "that of the sword-bearers. The inhabitants over whom  
 "they tyrannized, in 1440 formed a confederation to shake  
 "off the yoke of an illegitimate power, in which they were  
 "supported by the kings of Poland; and, after a bloody war,  
 "peace was concluded in 1466; Poland recovered possession  
 "of Pomerelia, the territory of Culm and Michelaw, of  
 "Warmia, the districts of Marienbourg and Elbing; the  
 "remainder of Prussia was ceded to the knights, who  
 "were to hold it as a fief of the crown of Poland. Most of  
 "the knights, having embraced Lutheranism, after the ex-  
 "ample of their grand master, Albert of Brandenburg;  
 "the latter, in 1525, offered Sigismund-Augustus, king of  
 "Poland, for himself and his successors, to hold Prussia as a  
 "fief of the republic. The king consented, and Albert suc-  
 "ceeded in expelling all the Catholic knights. The posterity  
 "of Albert being extinct, the electoral house of Brandenburg  
 "obtained the duchy on the same conditions with Albert; but,  
 "by



“ by a treaty in 1656, confirmed by the peace of Oliva, the  
 “ duke of Prussia was freed from his duties of a vassal, on con-  
 “ dition of furnishing fifteen hundred infantry and five hun-  
 “ dred cavalry, during all the wars in which Poland might be  
 “ engaged, but his troops were to be paid by that nation.  
 “ We know that in 1701 Prussia was erected into a king-  
 “ dom. Royal or Polish Prussia, however, though rather of  
 “ less extent than the kingdom of Prussia, is four times more  
 “ populous and fertile.”

(67) This prohibition subsisted in the reign of Frederick throughout all the Prussian states. Policy, perhaps, requires such a prohibition in a military government : travels soon destroy prejudices, and a despotic and military government can hardly maintain public confidence but by prejudices. As soon as any wealthy person was suspected of an intention of quitting the Prussian states, spies were set upon him; and if he wanted to sell his property, the sale was opposed, and he was obliged to give securities. One Hesse, who had married a woman of Bourdeaux, when on the point of quitting Berlin, was summoned by the government to give security previous to his departure. *A much more simple method of putting a stop to emigrations, is to render subjects happy.*

(68) *Declaration delivered to the Court of Warsaw by M. Benoit, Minister of the King of Prussia, dated 4 December, 1772.*

“ The king, my master, has seen, with astonishment, how  
 “ little impression the declaration delivered by his minister,  
 “ as well as those of the empress-queen and her Imperial ma-  
 “ jesty of all the Russias, to his Polish majesty, have made,  
 “ to induce the republic to arrange matters with the three  
 “ neighbouring powers on the subject of their pretensions,  
 “ which the interest of their crowns will not permit them to  
 “ abandon to mere chance, and to the result of the troubles  
 “ which continue to agitate the kingdom. There are cer-

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tain bounds set to moderation by equity and the dignity of  
 "courts. This truth cannot have escaped the enlightened  
 "judgment of his Polish majesty, nor be indifferent to his  
 "court, since the voice of the country preserves to him  
 "his rights. His majesty the king of Prussia hopes that  
 "the king will no longer expose the kingdom to delibera-  
 "tions from which nothing but delays can possibly result.  
 "By wishing to convoke a diet to restore to vigour the form  
 "of government of the republic, and to remedy the evils  
 "with which it is overwhelmed, he would expose himself  
 "to the certainty of exciting ambition, hatred, and discord."

Signed BENOIT.

(69) The following is the speech which the king made to  
 the diet previous to the nomination of commissioners.

"All the discourses, publications, and measures of the  
 "three neighbouring courts, afford us the fullest information  
 "concerning the decided concord which subsists between  
 "them, with respect to the point of constraining our nation  
 "to adopt their projects. No person is ignorant of their  
 "sad and pernicious consequences as far as they can affect  
 "the country. To oppose them, or not to subscribe to them,  
 "but under the compulsion of a coercive force, is the duty  
 "of every good patriot; and it is more particularly mine, as  
 "I find myself expressly compelled to it by the following  
 "words of the *Paëta Conventa*, "*I will not permit any portion*  
 "*of the republic to be alienated.*" These duties are present to  
 "us all; the question is, to find the means of fulfilling them.  
 "The ancient vices of our government have left the nation  
 "without defence, the consequences of which we are dearly  
 "paying for at this day. The consciousness of our weakness  
 "has obliged us to implore foreign succour. Not content with  
 "various steps taken in consequence, we have addressed let-  
 "ters, three different times, to all the courts who have no  
 "share in the dismemberment of our states, containing the  
 "strongest

" strongest representations. You have heard yesterday, illu-  
 " strious states, what has been the effect of them, by the an-  
 " swers read to you from those powers, on whom our prefer-  
 " vation seemed to have imposed a sort of duty, according to  
 " the obligations of treaties, and their own peculiar interest,  
 " They express, indeed, their sensibility for our misfortunes;  
 " but we discover at the same time that they rather desire,  
 " than feel themselves able, to assist us. What remains then  
 " for us to do, to render the friendship of those powers service-  
 " able to our cause? Their pacific dispositions leave us no  
 " reasonable hope of seeing them take up arms in our favour,  
 " but they may still aid us by mediating between us and our  
 " neighbours. The distant powers, however, not having of-  
 " fered us this mediation, it is to be presumed that they have  
 " not neglected this point in consequence of an uncer-  
 " tainty whether their interposition would be acceptable to  
 " our three neighbours. It is our duty to propose to our  
 " neighbours the reference of our pretensions to those courts.  
 " It is our duty to desire it, to supplicate for such a conces-  
 " sion at their hands; and a demand of this nature can no way  
 " offend our neighbours. I am far from wishing to irritate  
 " them. God alone, who determines the fate of nations  
 " and the hearts of sovereigns, can prevent the effect of the  
 " design which I am now opening to you, illustrious states;  
 " but the same SUPREME BEING is my witness, that I am  
 " led to it solely by the internal conviction that we should  
 " imperfectly have discharged our duties, in neglecting this  
 " measure. Not one amongst us could enjoy a serene con-  
 " science, should we, hereafter, be unable to declare, we  
 " tried every thing, we neglected nothing. I shall not en-  
 " large on the reasons which authorize this step; but percei-  
 " ving that you all, worthy and virtuous citizens, are ani-  
 " mated by the love of the country, of glory, and the most  
 " sacred duties, whilst, at the same time, you approve of my  
 " sentiments, I charge the chancellors of the two nations



"to present to each of the ministers the memorial which will  
"now be read to you, &c."

(70) *Manifesto of the new Confederation.*

"For the last five years we have experienced the effects of  
"the most fatal revolution. The passage and sojourning of  
"the foreign troops in Poland, the draining the riches out of  
"the country, the effusion of the blood of our fellow-citizens,  
"the interruption of the courts of justice, and, to complete  
"all, the terrible as well as irrevocable enterprize of the  
"neighbouring powers, have forced us to assemble from all  
"parts. We cannot sustain the frightful spectacle of the  
"mischiefs that surround us, without being penetrated by  
"the most poignant sorrow. We can discover, in all the  
"national councils, no sufficient means to remedy our mis-  
"fortunes; and this consideration has convinced us of what  
"importance it is, that the approaching diet, which will  
"commence the 19th of April in the present year, should  
"not be exposed to the danger of being dissolved: for, it  
"is this diet which must prove the most salutary remedy to  
"the miseries of the republic; it is from the diet that we  
"must expect the restoration of public tranquillity, the insti-  
"tution of a regular education for the national youth, and  
"especially the means of disciplining and procuring subsistence  
"for the indigent nobility; it is in the diet that the power re-  
"sides of establishing a government capable of consolidating  
"its independence, as well at home as abroad. We should  
"risk the goods effects to be expected from it, and, perhaps,  
"see our country annihilated with the very name of the king-  
"dom of Poland, did we not conform, in the holding of this  
"diet, to the usual formalities of unanimity. For this rea-  
"son, having no other object but to put an end to the pre-  
"sent troubles, and to prevent the misfortunes with which  
"we are threatened, we find ourselves called upon to provide  
"against the interruption of this diet by any person whatso-  
"ever;

“ ever ; and as all the means prescribed by the laws could  
 “ not effect this purpose, no other method remains to us but  
 “ that traced out to us by our ancestors in the most tumultu-  
 “ tuous periods, and which has been followed by our con-  
 “ temporary brethren. And that we may not fall the victims  
 “ of the powers that menace us, we adopt the expedient  
 “ practised at preceding periods, and undertake to form a ge-  
 “ neral confederation of all the states of the crown of Poland  
 “ and grand duchy of Lithuania, which is what we now  
 “ effect by the present act : we confederate together for the  
 “ common defence, and, after renouncing all private dissen-  
 “ sions, we join and unite together by an indissoluble bond,  
 “ with the view of maintaining the dignity of the throne,  
 “ the holy Roman Catholic religion, and all our rights. An-  
 “ xious to make this confederation public as soon as possible,  
 “ and to display it in all its vigour, we name for marshals of the  
 “ confederations, viz. for that of the crown, with all the pro-  
 “ vinces in its dependence, M. Adam Ludzin Poninski, grand  
 “ master of the household of the crown, and for that of the  
 “ grand duchy of Lithuania, prince Michael Radzivil, sword-  
 “ bearer of the said duchy. We engage them at the same  
 “ time to take the oath, according to the usual form, before  
 “ they enter upon their functions, &c.”

(71) *Memorial of the Delegation, addressed to the Minister of  
 the King of Prussia.*

“ The delegation of the republic have already more than  
 “ once transmitted notes to the ministers of the three neigh-  
 “ bouring courts, to complain, during the negociation, of  
 “ the treaty of cession, and especially since they are convinced  
 “ that the powers never ceased advancing their frontiers into  
 “ the states of the republic, which is contrary to the letter of  
 “ the convention of Petersburg. The delegation have also  
 “ sent a deputation to them to confer on the same subject; and,  
 “ finally, they have solemnly deputed persons to the three  
 “ courts

" courts, with the hope that such a procedure might become  
" the true means of preventing subsequent enterprizes, and of  
" putting an end to those troubles which afflict Poland.  
" Every day, however, advices are received that the fron-  
" tiers of the republic are arbitrarily rendered more limited  
" in their boundaries; no other resource, therefore, remains for  
" them, but to address themselves, in the most decided manner,  
" to M. Benoit, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the  
" king of Prussia, and to demand of him, if, the late treaty be-  
" ing observed by some of the contracting powers, they will  
" all be equally disposed to its observance by the reciprocal  
" good offices of guaranties and mediators.

" The republic, fully convinced of its right to all its pos-  
" sessions, solemnly protests against every point which has  
" or may be effected, since the signature of the said treaty,  
" contrary to its tenor, reserving to itself the same right to-  
" wards the three powers, in the case that, even previous to  
" the said treaty, they may have occupied more territory than is  
" stipulated in the convention of Petersburg, the basis of the  
" treaty. In claiming on this subject the sacred guaranty  
" of the two Imperial courts, with respect to the king of  
" Prussia, the republic requires, in like manner, the guaranty  
" of that monarch, should any of the other two courts pass  
" the limits expressed in the convention of Petersburg; so  
" that the republic may not suffer the smallest diminution  
" of her frontiers. On principles as just, the delegation must  
" desire, that, before the mediation of these respective courts  
" can have effect, the troops of any power whatsoever, which  
" have occupied any part of the country since the signature  
" of the late treaty, should evacuate it without delay; and  
" that, until the solemn adjustment of territories stipulated,  
" the convention be no more so extensively interpreted to the  
" manifest detriment of the republic. Signed, Anthony Of-  
" rowski, bishop of Cujavia; Adam Louis Poninski, marshal

V ol. II.

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“ of the confederation; Michael prince Radzivil, sword-bearer and marshal.”

(72) *Memorial of M. Benoit, Minister of the King of Prussia.*

“ The undersigned has the honour to deliver to his excellency the grand chancellor of the crown, as president of the delegation, the geographical chart of the new states of his majesty the king of Prussia, such as they have been ceded to him in the late treaty with the republic of Poland, as an equivalent for the claims his majesty had on that kingdom. It is demonstrated by this chart that the limits traced on it are such as they are determined to be by Article II. of the treaty of cession; nor can any other interpretation be given to it, but by totally altering the sense, and falling into manifest contradictions; as the undersigned has sufficiently proved at the time of the negotiation, and in the answer which he gave to the objections made by the delegation on this subject respecting Article IX. and its supplement.

“ The river Netze being entirely ceded to the king my master, it must necessarily be from its mouth unto its sources, and both shores comprised in the cession; without which his majesty could not exercise, in its whole extent, his right of property where the cession in his favour has been so absolute, and which he ought consequently to be able to dispose of according to his pleasure, which could not be the case, were the two banks, as apparently in the present instance, to be disputed with him, they being indispensably necessary for him. It follows from this, that it is absolutely requisite to give the respective commissioners, who are to regulate the limits, sufficiently ample instructions to enable them successfully to negotiate concerning this point: for, if the intention be to give Article IX. of the treaty of cession a construction different from that which

“ I have

"I have explained above, it would only prove an useless  
"obstacle to a matter which it is the interest of both states to  
"terminate as soon as possible."

(73) This memorial resembles all the others ; it tends to prove that the chart of the limits delivered to the delegation is directly conformable to the tenor of the treaty of cession, and that the objections which they had thought proper to make could not destroy it. It finishes with the declaration that the king adheres inviolably to this chart, and regards it as the only basis of the demarkation.

(74) On the 20th of January, 1778, prince Kaunitz delivered to the Prussian envoy, and the other ministers of foreign courts residing at Vienna, a memorial, of which the following is the substance :

"That her majesty, the empress-queen, had claims on the  
"Bavarian succession, originating from a right of reversion  
"of the fiefs holden in capite in Bohemia; from an expectative on the county of Mindelheim in Swabia, and from  
"an effectual investiture given by the emperor Sigismund to  
"the house of Austria; that the elector palatine had acknowledged these claims; that her majesty, the empress-queen, had, indeed, marched a sufficient body of troops  
"towards Bavaria, as the elector palatine had taken possession of the states of Bavaria; but that, all misunderstanding  
"having been removed soon after, the greatest part of them  
"was recalled, and no more were suffered to enter than what  
"were necessary to take possession of the country."

The king replied by a memorial of the 7th of February, wherein he testifies his astonishment at the attempt of the crown of Bohemia to consider districts of the Upper Palatinate as fiefs devolved on it, the reversion of which, without any exception whatever, was secured to the palatine house by the peace of Westphalia, in default of that of Bavaria. He asked how an Imperial expectative, given without the con-

sent of the empire, could dismember a large duchy and electorate, appertaining to all the branches of the palatine house, in virtue of the treaty of Pavia, of the golden bull, and the peace of Westphalia? How it was possible for the elector palatine to enter into a covenant respecting such objects, and cede to a foreign house so important a part of the ancient patrimony of his own, to the prejudice of the collateral palatine branches and the allodial heirs? He added, that, as his majesty the emperor had seized on some districts of Bavaria, which he considered as vacant fiefs of the empire, it was to be hoped that his majesty's intention was not to continue to occupy them by troops of his house, nor otherwise to dispose of them but with the concurrence of the empire, in conformity to article II. of his capitulation: that the king, as a prince of the empire, could not view with indifference such singular arrangements, which seemed to promise effects highly disadvantageous to the established system of the empire: that his majesty expected, from the justice and greatness of mind of their Imperial majesties, that they would listen to amicable explanations, in order to discover means of arranging the Bavarian succession, in a manner conformable to the rights of the different parties interested, and to the constitutions of the Germanic body.

The prince de Kaunitz, on the 16th of February, attempted a reply. On the 9th of March, the king sent a fresh memorial to the court of Vienna, in which he concludes by requiring their Imperial majesties to restore matters to the footing on which they stood at the death of the elector of Bavaria, and to submit to conciliatory measures for arranging the Bavarian succession in such a way as to preserve the equilibrium of the empire, as well as its constitutions and the peace of Westphalia, and to secure the rights and interests of the elector of Saxony, of the princes palatine, and of the dukes of Mecklenbourg.

The Imperial court replied by a memorial of the 1st of April,



April, and declared, That the empress-queen would no longer enter into a discussion of her rights; that she would not relinquish her possessions legally acquired; that justice should be done to those who might have pretensions; but that her majesty would never permit a prince of the empire to take upon him to set himself up as the arbiter or guardian of her co-estates, and to contest her rights; that she knew how to defend herself, and even attack whoever should thus render resistance necessary; that she was willing, nevertheless, to adopt all admissible means which might be suggested for the maintenance of the general tranquillity.

The king had repaired to Silesia at the beginning of April. The emperor, who arrived at the same time in Bohemia, wrote to him on the 13th, proposing to his majesty a conciliatory convention.

In this letter, the emperor proposed to the king "simply to acknowledge the validity of the convention, entered into the 3d of January, between the empress-queen and the elector palatine, as well as the legitimacy of the possession of the districts of Bavaria, occupied in consequence by his majesty, and to suffer peaceably the exchanges to be carried into execution, which the empress-queen might make with the elector palatine, either of Bavaria, or of some other part. That, in return, the empress-queen would acknowledge the validity of the incorporation of the countries of Anspach and Bareith with the patrimony of the house of Brandenburg, and suffer every exchange to be completed which might be made of these countries, as it might suit his Prussian majesty."

A correspondence took place on this occasion between the two sovereigns. The following are two of the king's answers:

*Letter from the King of Prussia to the Emperor.*

Schœnwalde, 14th April, 1778.

“ MY GOOD BROTHER,

“ I have received, with the greatest possible satisfaction,  
 “ the letter your Imperial majesty has been so good as to write  
 “ me. I have neither minister nor scribe with me; your  
 “ Imperial majesty must be contented with the answer of an  
 “ old soldier, who writes to you with probity and frankness,  
 “ on one of the most important subjects that politics have  
 “ furnished for a long time. No person desires more than I  
 “ do to maintain peace and good harmony between the pow-  
 “ ers of Europe; but there are bounds to every thing; and  
 “ cases so arduous will sometimes occur, as to render good-  
 “ will alone insufficient for the purposes of maintaining an  
 “ undisturbed tranquillity. Will your majesty permit me  
 “ clearly to explain to you the state of the question respecting  
 “ our present differences? The question is, Whether an  
 “ emperor can at his pleasure dispose of the fiefs of the em-  
 “ pire? If we adopt the affirmative, these fiefs become so  
 “ many Timariots,\* holden only for life, and which the  
 “ Sultan may dispose of at the death of the possessor. Now,  
 “ this is contrary to the laws and customs, and to the usages,  
 “ of the Roman empire. None of the princes will concur  
 “ in it: each of them will invoke the feudal law, which se-  
 “ cures these possessions to his descendants; nor will any  
 “ one be found to consent to cement against himself the  
 “ power of a despot, who sooner or later will despoil him  
 “ and his children of his immemorial possessions. This it  
 “ is which has made the whole Germanic body cry out  
 “ against the violent manner in which Bavaria has been in-

\* The king here meant *Timars*; for thus the military tenures are called among the Turks; the soldiers who hold these lands are called *Timariots*.

“vaded. As for me, as a member of the empire, and as  
“having renewed the treaty of Westphalia by that of Hu-  
“bertsbourg, I find myself directly called upon to maintain the  
“immunities, the liberties, and rights of the Germanic body,  
“as well as the Imperial capitulations by which the power  
“of the head of the empire is limited, in order to guard  
“against the abuses to which he might proceed in conse-  
“quence of his preeminence. This, sire, is the true state  
“of things. My personal interest has not the smallest con-  
“cern with it; but I am persuaded, that your majesty would  
“yourself regard me as a cowardly man, unworthy of your  
“esteem, could I basely submit to sacrifice the rights, immu-  
“nities, and privileges, which the other electors and myself  
“have received from our ancestors. I continue to speak to  
“you with the same frankness. I love and honour your per-  
“son. It will be certainly very hard for me to be obliged  
“to fight against a prince endowed with excellent qualities,  
“and whom I personally esteem. The following ideas, then,  
“such as they strike my feeble understanding, I submit to  
“the superior judgment of your Imperial majesty. I con-  
“fess that Bavaria, according to the right of convenience,  
“may suit the Imperial house; but, as every other sort of  
“right is directly opposed to it in this possession, is there no  
“method of finding anequevalent to satisfy the duke des  
“Deux-Ponts? Cannot we discover wherewithal to in-  
“demnify the elector of Saxony with respect to his claims on  
“the Bavarian succession? The Saxons make their preten-  
“sions amount to 37 millions of florins; but they would  
“certainly abate something in favour of peace. It is in such  
“propositions, not forgetting the duke of Mecklenbourg,  
“that your Imperial majesty will see me joyfully concur, as  
“they would be conformable to what my duty and the situ-  
“ation I occupy demand of me. I do assure your majesty  
“that I would not explain myself to my brother with more  
“freedom than I have the honour to do to you. I entreat



“ you to reflect on what I have taken the liberty to represent  
 “ to you; for, such is the fact in question. The succession  
 “ of Anspach is entirely foreign from it. Our rights are so  
 “ legitimate, that no person can render them a subject of liti-  
 “ gation. It was that Van Swieten who spoke to me about  
 “ it, I recollect, about 4 or 5 years ago, and who told me that  
 “ the Imperial court would be very glad if there was any ex-  
 “ change to be proposed, as I took from his court the ma-  
 “ jority of voices in the circle of Franconia, and my neigh-  
 “ bourhood was not agreeable near Egra in Bohemia. I  
 “ answered, that he need not be in such a hurry, as the mar-  
 “ grave of Anspach was in very good health, and that the  
 “ odds were that he would survive me. This is all that passed  
 “ on the subject, and your Imperial majesty may be persua-  
 “ ded that I am telling you the truth. As to the last me-  
 “ morial I received from prince Kaunitz, the said prince seems  
 “ to have been rather peevish in drawing it up. The answer  
 “ can only arrive here in eight days. I oppose my phlegm  
 “ to his vivacious sallies; and I expect, above all, that your  
 “ Imperial majesty will have the goodness to decide on the  
 “ sincere representations which I take the liberty of submit-  
 “ ting to your consideration, being, with the highest esteem,  
 “ and the most perfect regard,

“ Your Imperial majesty's good brother and cousin,  
 “ FREDERICK.”

*Another Letter to the Emperor, in the King's own hand-writing.*

“ Schönwalde, 20th April, 1778.

“ MY GOOD BROTHER,

“ Nothing can be more glorious for your Imperial majesty  
 “ than the resolution you deign to take, still to endeavour  
 “ to allay the impending storm, which threatens so many  
 “ innocent nations. The successes, sire, which the most  
 “ illustrious warriors have over their enemies, are shared  
 “ among many heads, who contribute to them by their va-  
 “ lour

"our and their conduct ; but the bounties of sovereigns to-  
 "wards their fellow-creatures are attributed to them alone,  
 "inasmuch as they depend on the goodness of their character,  
 "as well as on the elevation of their genius. There is no  
 "sort of reputation to which your majesty may not aspire,  
 "whether by deeds of valour, or by acts of moderation. I be-  
 "lieve you as capable of the one as of the other ; and your  
 "Imperial majesty may be persuaded that I shall act deci-  
 "dedly, and lend myself with good faith to all the means  
 "of conciliation that may be proposed to prevent the effu-  
 "sion of innocent blood : and to all this I must naturally  
 "be led by sentiments of admiration for your person, the  
 "profound impressions of which shall never be eradicated  
 "from my heart. Let your majesty be convinced, that, if  
 "I have hazarded myself in disclosing to you the sentiments  
 "I have for you personally, it is the pure and simple im-  
 "pression of the truth. I have been accused of being sincere,  
 "rather than a flatterer, nor am I capable of saying what I  
 "do not think. Until it pleases your Imperial majesty to lay  
 "down regulations for the important negociation in ques-  
 "tion, I beg you to believe me, with all the sentiments of  
 "the most perfect esteem and the highest consideration,

"Your majesty's good brother and cousin,

"FREDERICK."

The king, on the 22d of April, made the following answer  
 to the memorial of the 1st of the same month : " That his  
 "Prussian majesty did not merit such reproaches ; that he  
 "did not pretend to erect himself into an arbiter or guardian  
 "of his co-estates ; but that he thought himself authorized,  
 "and even obliged, to protest against the dismemberment, no  
 "less arbitrary than openly unjust, of the Bavarian succes-  
 "sion ; that the maintenance of the general tranquillity, and  
 "of the good understanding between the two courts, were  
 "objects he had not less at heart than their Imperial majesties,  
 "but

“ but that he thought it became him to wait until the court  
 “ of Vienna, which had taken possession of the objects in  
 “ litigation, should come to an explanation respecting the  
 “ measures which might be deemed admissible for regulating  
 “ the succession of Bavaria.”

Prince Kaunitz answered this note by a memorial on the 7th of May, at the end of which is an analysis, or refutation, of the two notes of the court of Berlin of the 9th of March and 22d of April. In the memorial of the 7th of May, it is attempted to be established, “ That his majesty the emperor  
 “ had done nothing illegal in the affair of Bavaria, nor did  
 “ the elector palatine make any opposition to that transac-  
 “ tion; that her majesty the empress-queen did not oppose  
 “ the pretensions of the elector of Saxony and the dukes of  
 “ Mecklenbourg, and that the duke of Deux Ponts had no  
 “ right to act but on the extinction of the line of Soultzbach;  
 “ that he was called upon, nevertheless, to produce his grie-  
 “ vances, that his claims might be examined conjointly with  
 “ those of her majesty the empress-queen, and that a legal  
 “ decision might put an end to the contestation to which he  
 “ had thought proper to give rise.”

The king of Prussia having required the states of the empire, by his minister at the diet, to join with him in proper representations to the court of Vienna, the Austrian minister took occasion to reply, on the 10th of April, by a verbal declaration, in which he advances, “ That each state of  
 “ the empire had a right to assert its claims, but that this  
 “ could only be done by a legal decision, or by a convention  
 “ with the parties concerned; that the empress-queen had  
 “ adopted the latter mode by her transaction with the elector  
 “ palatine; that she would not be deficient in point of  
 “ justice, or refuse a proper compensation to the duke of  
 “ Deux Ponts and the elector of Saxony; but that she could  
 “ never bring herself to acknowledge the tribunal and de-  
 “ cisions of the king of Prussia, nor permit a third state of  
 “ the



“the empire to rise up against a convention, and take a part  
“in a business which did not concern it.”

After the correspondence between the emperor and the king, it was at length agreed that negotiations for a reconciliation should be begun at Berlin. In the first conference, count de Cobenzel proposed anew what the emperor had suggested in his letters to the king. He was refused.

The 20th of May, the Prussian minister delivered to count Cobenzel a plan of general arrangement respecting the Bavarian succession, containing in substance, “That, for the sake of  
“peace, endeavours should be made to engage the palatine  
“house to cede to the court of Vienna two given districts of  
“Bavaria on the Danube and on the Inn, contiguous to  
“Bohemia and Austria; that her majesty the empress-queen  
“should restore to the elector palatine the remainder of what  
“she occupies in Bavaria, and give him an equivalent for the  
“portion she retains of it, either in Swabia or in the duchies  
“of Limbourg and Gueldres; and thus enable that prince  
“to satisfy the elector of Saxony for his claims, by cessions  
“and exchanges to be agreed upon; that, in order to faci-  
“litate this general arrangement, his majesty the emperor  
“should confer on the elector palatine the fiefs of the em-  
“pire vacant in Bavaria, and that her majesty the empress-  
“queen should renounce the rights of feodality which she  
“possessed, as queen of Bohemia, on some portions of terri-  
“tory belonging to the Upper Palatinate, of Saxony, and the  
“country of Bareith, and not to oppose, agreeably to her own  
“offers, the future reunion of the margraviates of Franconia  
“with the patrimony of the electorate of Brandenburg, or  
“resist the exchanges which might be made with neigh-  
“bours.”

The court of Vienna insisted on her first demand. Two other memorials were reciprocally delivered, but they only served to foment rather than to conciliate differences.

(75) In the last memorial of the court of Vienna of the 24th of June, it is said, *that, if the propositions now made were not adopted as the basis of a preliminary treaty, every amicable arrangement must become impossible, and every subsequent explanation superfluous.*

(76) Extract of the treaty of peace, signed at Teschen, between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia, 13th of May, 1779.

Article I. There shall be peace and friendship between the contracting parties, &c.

Art. II. Every act of hostility previous to or since the commencement of the present war, shall be forgotten on one side and the other.

Art. III. The contracting parties engage to withdraw their troops from the respective states in sixteen days from the signing of the treaty.

Art. IV. The prisoners shall be exchanged and restored.

Art. V. All military contributions shall cease from the day of signing the treaty.

Art. VI. The contracting parties promise mutually to restore such of their subjects as may have been compelled to serve the other power.

Art. VII. The convention made this day between her majesty the empress-queen on one part, and the elector palatine and duke of Deux Ponts on the other, shall be annexed to the present treaty, and guarantied, as well as the said treaty.

Art. VIII. The contracting and mediating powers agree to guaranty, and do formally guaranty to the whole palatine house, and specifically to the house of Birkenfeld, the family treaties and compacts of 1766, 1771, and 1774, inasmuch as they are conformable to the peace of Westphalia, and are not derogated from by cessions agreed to in the present conventions and treaty; as well as the act signed this day be-

tween

between the elector palatine and the duke of Deux Ponts, respecting the observance and execution of the said family compacts, which is annexed to, and deemed to constitute a part of, the present treaty, as if inserted word for word.

Art IX. The particular convention made this day on the subject of the pretensions of the elector of Saxony, shall be, in like manner, annexed, and guarantied by the same.

Art. X. The empress promises not to oppose the re-union of the principalities of Anspach and Bareith to the inheritance of the house of Brandenburg.

Art. XI. The empress-queen and the king are reciprocally to renounce, in case of any re-union, all the paramount rights which they may have on any parts of those countries.

Art. XII. Her majesty the empress-queen, the king of Prussia, the elector palatine, and the duke of Deux Ponts, will jointly employ their good offices with the emperor and the empire, to confer anew on the elector palatine, for himself and for all the palatine house, the investiture of the fiefs, situated partly in Bavaria, partly in Swabia, on the same footing on which they were possessed by the elector of Bavaria.

Art. XIV. The contracting parties, and all those who have any share in the present treaty, shall engage the emperor and the empire to accede to the present treaty, and all the acts depending on it, and to consent to them.

Art. XV. The contracting parties shall jointly employ their good offices with the emperor, to obtain for the duke of Mecklenbourg the unlimited privilege *de non appellando*.

Art. XVI. The empress of Russia and the king of France, who, by their mediation, have chiefly contributed to the conclusion of peace, shall be requested and invited by the contracting parties to guaranty the present treaty, and all the acts and conventions depending thereon.

Art. XVII. The exchange of ratifications shall be made at  
Tetschen



Teschén in 14 days, reckoning from the signature of the present, or sooner, if possible.

A separate article relates only to the accession of the elector of Saxony to the same.

The following are the principal articles of the convention signed the same day between the empress-queen and the elector palatine :

Art. I. All the districts now occupied by the house of Austria in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, shall be restored to the elector palatine and the house of Bavaria, under the conditions stipulated in articles 4, 5, and 6. The said elector renounces all pretensions which he might have on account of this seizure ; and the empress-queen, on her side, releases the elector from the convention of the 3d of January, 1778, and renounces for ever all pretensions to the succession of Bavaria.

Art. II. The empress-queen cedes to the elector palatine the lordship of Mindelheim ; she cedes to him likewise all the claims of the crown of Bohemia on the lordships of Glaucha, Woldenbourg, and Lichtenstein, belonging to the count of Schœnbourg, in order to facilitate the arrangement of the claims made by the elector of Saxony on the allodial succession of the deceased elector. In fine, her majesty is pleased, also, to confer anew on the elector palatine, and all the palatine house, the fiefs of the crown of Bohemia situated in the Upper Palatinate, as possessed by the electors of Bavaria.

Art. IV. In return, the elector palatine cedes to the empress-queen the bailiwicks of Wildshout, Braunau, with the town of that name, Maurkirchen, Fribourg, Mattigkoven, Ried, Schærdling, and, in general, all that part of Bavaria situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and which depends on the generality of Bourghausen, in its present state.

Art. V.

Art. V. The rivers above named shall remain common to both parties in the whole extent of the ceded countries; so that neither of the said parties shall be able to establish new tolls, or interrupt the navigation in any manner whatsoever.

Art. VI. The empress-queen promises, for herself and her descendants, never to set up any pretensions, under any pretext whatever, to any of the other parts of the states of Bavaria, &c. &c.

The other acceding parties are the duke of Deux-Ponts, the elector palatine, and the elector of Saxony, by a convention.

(77) On the subject of the privilege *de non appellando*, a great opposition was formed before the aulic council on the part of the states of Mecklenbourg and the town of Rostock. They alledged that this privilege could not be granted to the duke without invading their privileges. A decree of the 11th of April, 1781, rejected this opposition. The emperor, therefore, has accorded this privilege to the duke, but with some restrictions.

(78) This Germanic league, or confederation, was signed at Berlin the 23d of July, 1785. The ratifications were exchanged the 21st of August. This treaty has never yet been published.

(79) *First Letter from Frederick, then Prince Royal of Prussia, to Voltaire.*

“ 8th of August, 1736.

“ SIR,

“ Although I am without the pleasure of enjoying your  
“ personal acquaintance, you are not the less known to me  
“ by your works. They are treasuries of wit (if I may be  
“ allowed the expression), and executed with so much taste  
“ that new beauties appear as often as we read them. I flat-

“ ter

“ter myself with having discovered in them the character of  
 “their ingenious author, who does honour to our age and to  
 “the human mind. Modern great men will one day lie  
 “under this obligation to you, and you alone, should the  
 “question of preference between them and the ancients be  
 “revived, that you will incline the balance on their side.

“To the quality of an excellent poet you add an infinity  
 “of knowledge in other branches, which in truth have some  
 “affinity with poetry, but have been appropriated to it only  
 “by your pen. Never did poet express, amidst the harmony  
 “of verse, his metaphysical ideas; \* this honour was reserved  
 “for you. It is the taste you display for philosophy in your  
 “writings, that induces me to send you the translation I or-  
 “dered to be made of the accusation and justification of M.  
 “Wolf, the most celebrated philosopher of our day, who, for  
 “having shed a light over the darkest parts of metaphysics,  
 “and for treating these difficult enquiries in a manner no less  
 “elevated than precise and clear, is cruelly accused of irreli-  
 “gion and atheism. Such is the fate of great men, their  
 “superior genius always exposing them to the envenomed  
 “shafts of calumny and envy.

“A translation is now executing, by my order, of *The Treatise*  
 “*on God, the Soul, and the World*, from the pen of the same  
 “author, which I will send you as soon as it is finished; and  
 “I am sure that the weight of evidence will strike you in all  
 “his propositions, which follow each other geometrically, and  
 “are connected like links of the same chain.

“The kindness and countenance which you extend to  
 “all such as devote themselves to the arts and sciences, in-  
 “duce me to hope that you will not exclude me from the  
 “number of those whom you may find worthy of your in-  
 “struction; for, it is thus I term a literary intercourse with  
 “you, which cannot but be advantageous to every thinking

\* Where then is Lucretius, &c.?—TRANSLATOR.



"being. Nay, I even venture to advance, without derogating from the merits of others, that in the whole universe there are but few exceptions to be made against those to whom you might give lessons. Without lavishing an incense unworthy your acceptance, I may say, that I discover innumerable beauties in your works. Your *Henriad* delights me, and gloriously triumphs over its injudicious critics. The tragedy of *Cæsar* shews us well-supported characters; the sentiments are all magnificent and grand, and we feel that Brutus is a Roman or an Englishman. *Alzira* combines with the graces of novelty the happy contrast of European and savage manners. You prove to us, by the character of Gusman, that Christianity, misunderstood, and guided by a false zeal, renders men more barbarous and cruel than Paganism itself.

"Corneille, the great Corneille, he who attracted the admiration of all his contemporaries, could he return to life, would behold with astonishment, perhaps with envy, the tragic goddess lavish with profusion on you those graces of which she was so sparing towards him. What have we not a right to expect from the author of so many masterpieces of fine writing? What new wonders are upon the point of issuing from the pen which has already, with such wit and elegance, traced out to us the *Temple of Taste*!

"It is this which makes me so ardently desire to be possessed of all your works. I beg you, sir, to send me them, and let your communication be without reserve. If among your manuscripts there should be any, which, from a necessary circumspection, you think proper to conceal from the public eye, I promise you to preserve it in the bosom of secrecy, and to content myself with applauding it in private. I know, unfortunately, that the faith of princes is not, during the present times, regarded in the most respectable light, yet I hope that you will not suffer your-

“ self to be prepossessed with general prejudices, but make an  
 “ exception in my favour.

“ I shall deem myself richer in the possession of your works,  
 “ than in that of all the transient and contemptible gifts of  
 “ fortune, which may be acquired and lost by the same ha-  
 “ zard. The former (I mean your works) we may make our  
 “ own by the aid of memory, and they will remain with us as  
 “ long as the power of recollection lasts. Aware, however,  
 “ of the feeble exertions of mine, I balance long before I deter-  
 “ mine on the choice of the materials worthy to hold a place in it.

“ Were poetry still on its ancient footing, and did poets  
 “ know only how to thrill out tiresome idylliums, eclogues  
 “ cast in the same mould, and insipid stanzas, or, could they  
 “ by an extraordinary effort mount their lyre upon the tone  
 “ of elegy, I should bid adieu to it for ever; but you ennoble  
 “ this art, and trace out new roads and paths unknown to  
 “ the . . . . . and the . . . . .

“ Your poesy has qualities which render it respectable  
 “ and worthy the admiration and study of every good man.  
 “ Your verses contain a course of morals, where we learn to  
 “ think and act. Virtue is there painted in the most beau-  
 “ teous colours. In them the idea of true glory is determined,  
 “ and a taste for the sciences inculcated in so neat, so deli-  
 “ cate a manner, that whoever has read your works becomes  
 “ inspired with the ambition of following your footsteps.  
 “ How often have not I said to myself, “ Unworthy as you  
 “ are! lay down a burthen too weighty for your powers;  
 “ Voltaire himself alone can imitate Voltaire.” It is in these  
 “ moments I have felt, that the advantages of birth are of  
 “ little avail, or, more properly, of none. They are dis-  
 “ tinctions wholly foreign from ourselves, and decorate only  
 “ the exterior. How infinitely preferable to them are the  
 “ talents of the mind!

“ What do we not owe to men whom nature has distin-  
 . . . . . guished

“guished by giving them to the world? She delights in forming and endowing chosen individuals with all the capacity necessary to make a progress in the arts and sciences, and it is for princes to recompense their labours. Alas! why does not glory make me her instrument to crown your success? I should fear nothing, but that the country, little fertile in laurels, would not furnish you sufficient for the merit of your works. If my good fortune does not favour me so far as to suffer me to possess you, at least let me hope, that I may one day see the man whom I have so long admired at a distance, and have it in my power personally to assure you that I am, with all the esteem and consideration due to those, who, taking for their guide, the light of truth, consecrate their labours to the public welfare,

SIR, Your affectionate friend,

FREDERICK, PRINCE ROYAL OF PRUSSIA.

(80) Voltaire's preface to the *Anti-Machiavel* is full of commendations of that work and its author. It is rather difficult to reconcile these praises with what Voltaire wrote afterwards against this great king. If Frederick were even guilty of some offences against Voltaire, does that circumstance render the monarch a worse poet, or a more indifferent writer than when he heaped bounties and favours upon this at length irritated poet?

(81) It is false that (as Voltaire pretends) Frederick had no fixed object in publishing his *Anti-Machiavel*. This great man occupied himself in his retirement at Rheinsberg in forming a general plan of government, to which he faithfully adhered to the last moment of his life.

(82) The Abbé de St. Pierre, so well known by his projects, which have been turned into ridicule, though uniformly tending to the happiness of humanity, and brought forward



as the only means of mitigating the ferocity of the human species, pointed out in some of his works the contrast between the conduct of the king towards the house of Austria, and the principles which he affects to entertain in his *Anti-Machiavel*. Formey replied to him in a work entitled, *Anti-Saint-Pierre*.

(83) Frederick, in his poetical productions, often proposes to himself, for models, Titus, Marcus Antoninus, and all the other sovereigns who have contributed to the happiness of mankind. In the following lines, taken from some of his verses upon war, he paints with warmth the duties of kings towards their subjects :

Judges of Men ! *Terrestrial* Gods ! whose birth  
Announc'd You as the Scourges of the Earth !  
Whilst from your threat'ning arms the thunder hurl'd  
Proclaims You Tyrants of th' affrighted World ;  
O'er Nations whilst You throw th' enslaving chain,  
Curb the wild rage of a despotic reign !  
Mankind should your *affection* amply share !  
*All* are your Sons ; *all* need *paternal* care.  
Though from *their* hearts life's wasted currents glide,  
With *your own* blood the wounding poniard's dy'd.  
The prudent Pastor to his Fold attends ;  
From ev'ry ill the flock below'd defends ;  
And, when by hunger's ruthless fury prest,  
The lion and the wolf his plains infest,  
Brave and protecting, He their pow'r defies,  
Whilst each, discomfited, reluctant flies :  
*His* sheep enjoy uninterrupted peace,  
Nor dread the knife, though they resign the fleece.  
Thus, o'er their subjects spotless Monarchs reign !  
Mild in their counsels, in their views humane,  
By gracious deeds they calculate their days,  
And Fate to cut the brilliant thread delays.  
No People fall to magnify *their* fame,  
No slaughter'd Lands *their* thirst of pow'r proclaim.

For *them*, pleas'd History with Truth unites,  
 And from the tablet of *their* virtue writes.  
 Here, *Titus* or lov'd *Antonine* we trace,  
 Who blest'd, whilst they adorn'd, the human race!

With *These*, Ambition's fatal torch abhor,  
 Which kindles flames of an intestine war!  
 Such war as would a boundless carnage crave,  
 To make the Universe one common grave!  
 What scenes this tragic Theatre displays!  
 At *Europe*, Murd'refs of her Sons, we gaze!  
 Blind Lunatic! on foreign States to call,  
 Pierc'd by whose swords, her wretched children fall!

(84) In 1723, when Frederick accompanied his father on a journey to Hanover and Herenhausen, where George the First, king of England, then was, he saw the princess Anne, grand-daughter of the king of Great Britain, and eldest daughter of George II. then prince of Wales. This princess was handsome, and loved the sciences; she had wit, vivacity, judgment, and information. Young Frederick, in some degree, felt the force of her charms, and the first impressions of infancy are not easily effaced. At this early period of his youth, the vows of an enamoured heart were to refuse all, except her, for his consort; neither were these vows broken, as far as they depended on himself.

Perhaps this marriage would have taken place, but for some differences which arose, soon after, between the courts of Prussia and Hanover, on the subject of a few acres of meadow-land, and of two or three Hanoverians enlisted by the Prussian recruiters.

It is supposed, also, that intentions were, at one time, conceived of marrying him to Maria-Theresa of Austria; but it was necessary, in that case, to change his religion, and Frederick did not fail to ground his refusal upon such a pretext.

(85) Thus, in the following epistle, does Frederick describe the queen his mother :

O Queen rever'd ! whose brave yet tender heart,  
 Fulfils the Heroine's and Mother's part,  
 Thy worth, each virtue blazing in thy breast,  
 Thy patronage of wretchedness oppress,  
 Thy Soul beneficent, with Pity fraught,  
 Which, at the call of Woe, her succours brought,  
 Thy firm, yet ever soft and gentle mind,  
 With all that magnanimity combin'd,  
 Which, merciful to those whose deeds offend,  
 Will pardons and forgivenesses extend,  
 Thine equity and justice, always found  
 Th' unsullied progress of thy pow'r to bound,  
 Thy conduct which, with brilliancy divine,  
 Incites us to pursue a life like thine,  
 It's emanations with delight to trace,  
 And think less harshly of the human race,  
 For *these*, my Muse her resolution breaks,  
 Her vows of silence, instantly, forsakes,  
 And, as the splendid themes her strains inspire,  
 Attunes to praise the consecrated lyre.

Heav'n grant that thy beneficent career,  
 With flow'rets strew'd, in spotless honours clear,  
 May ne'er intrude on thine afflicted eyes,  
 A day when Peace, alarm'd, from Sorrow flies !  
 Nor early may the ruthless Fates appear  
 To cut existence from a Form so dear !  
 Inexorable Atropos ! Refrain !  
 Divide not, yet, the precious thread in twain !

Thou God ! whom Styx, whom Acheron obeys,  
 Abridge the stated period of my days,  
 And to my venerated Parent give  
 The rest through which I was design'd to live !  
 O ! Happiness ! too great to be express,  
 Which swells the generous and noble breast,

That,



That, pleas'd, to Death's invited summons yields,  
 Seeks, with a rapid pace, th' Elysian fields,  
 And, thus, relations, heroes, thus, preserves,  
 Length'ning *his* years who pray'rs and love deserves.

More enviable and great ; more dear to fame,  
 Is He who offers up his earthly frame,  
 And hopes the sacrifice may so prevail,  
 That *his* lost days shall fill the *Mother's* scale !  
 For Thee ! both Queen and Parent, could I end  
 This earthly course, if it might thine extend.  
 How just the zeal for that existence shewn  
 Which prov'd the honour'd Fountain of my own !

These are very bad verses ; and yet they may claim some indulgence on account of either the sentiments or the motives from which they appear to have arisen.

(86) The following are the first verses which were addressed, by Voltaire, to the king of Prussia, on his accession to the throne : \*

At length, behold the most delightful of my days !  
 For which All wish'd, whilst *Thou*, alone, experienc'd fears.  
 For *Thee*, th' embellish'd Earth her charms displays.  
*Thy* regal dawn appears !

Hence ! Vanish far ! Ye *reverend* fanatic Bands !  
 Ye ! Persecutors vile ! that us'd Devotion's name !  
 Ye ! insolent Seducers ! who, with frantic hands,  
 Of horrors rais'd the flame !

Hypocrisy ! thy dark and trembling form I view !  
 Inhuman Monster ! to asperse the brilliant fame  
 Of Bayle and of Descartes ? That Genius why pursue  
 Who next to Leibnitz came ?

\* In some editions of the works of Voltaire, these verses have undergone alterations and corrections ; but, they are here offered to the reader under the form in which they were presented to the king.

With *pious* rage to wound the wisest of mankind,  
 Upon the sacred Altar didst Thou wave the sword.  
 My King shall make thee rue the blade a vulgar Mind  
 Within thy grasp ador'd.

He strikes ! Thou dy'st ! Each injury becomes redrest !  
 Fair Truth returns ! The fleeting Reign of Error ends.  
 Earth speaks to Heav'n ! whilst Freedom glows within her  
 breast,

And Heav'n her voice commends.

And, You ! of hated Borgia Maxims ever vile !  
 Whence foul Injustice through the Law's high sanction  
 springs !

That guilty Art by which Oppressors Worlds despoil !  
 The System, oft, of Kings !

False Politics ! that Despotism's rage display,  
 Hide your deceitful glare ! The face of light it stains.  
*This Hero* fear ! who, that his edicts States might, pleas'd, obey,  
 Conjoin'd with Virtue reigns !

Let us the World's impartial annals open wide,  
 And view the Tyrants ! They were miserable all :  
 Bolts which they brandish'd, in their hands, with carnage  
 dy'd,

On *them* were doom'd to fall.

Enrag'd they perish'd ; sham'd, accurst, a prey to woes :  
 But, Titus, Trajan, Aurelius and Antonine  
 Had Days pure as their virtues : such as Climes disclose  
 Where Suns perpetual shine.

In *Thee*, these *actual* Roman Heroes will revive !  
 Their loss, Illustrious Sovereign ! shalt *Thou* replace !  
 Live fortunate ! Oh ! may the worthiest Man alive  
 Prove happiest of his race !

A *philosophic* Monarch rules ! The present Time,  
 Though anxious, dar'd not hope for such a reign as *thine* !  
 Crowns Thou deserv'st ! Thy genius gloriously sublime  
 The nations can refine.

Grov'ling through ignorance, let other Kings remain!

Each, of false Gods the image, neither sees nor hears:

Yet, Vice and Flatt'ry praise their execrated reign,

Where only Guilt appears.

In *Thee*, a *living* God's bright Image greets our eyes.

Arts, Virtues, Talents, bloom and spread, at thy decree.

Hail! Northern Solomon! than Solomon more wise,

And from *his* weakness free!

(87) All Europe was at this time engaged upon the reformation of the Calendar. It had been ordered in the empire by a decree of the diet of Ratisbon.

(88) The following is a translation of this discourse as printed in the history of the academy. It has the advantage over many other discourses of the same academy, of being entertaining, and consequently less tiresome.

" Gentlemen,

" Among the particularly great and almost innumerable  
 " monuments of the singular care, at once truly paternal  
 " and all-gracious, which the august and all-powerful king,  
 " our beneficent lord, is never wearied of taking for the  
 " splendour and increase of all the states, provinces, and  
 " countries, which by the divine grace enjoy actually such  
 " great happiness, under his most fortunate sceptre, of  
 " which may be considered as so many everlasting witnesses,  
 " so many temples and other places consecrated to divine  
 " worship, built or embellished; so many universities, schools  
 " for nobility and others, founded and endowed to form and  
 " polish the minds of youth; so many salutary laws and con-  
 " stitutions established; and, in particular, those superb edi-  
 " fices, constructed at immense expence, in so many places,  
 " not less for the public good than for the great lustre  
 " of the country, works which fill strangers and travellers  
 " with



" with an extreme admiration: between these testimonies, suffer  
 " me to observe, so astonishing and infinitely agreeable, of  
 " the paternal affection the most tender, and of the piety the  
 " most rare, which engage this excellent prince to occupy  
 " himself only with the salvation of his subjects; I am of  
 " opinion, that, assuredly, we should not place in the last  
 " rank the attention which he demonstrated at the close of the  
 " preceding war, and of which the traces are now visible;  
 " because a happy peace has been restored to our countries,  
 " and enabled our sovereign to turn all his cares and all his  
 " thoughts (incessantly directed, upon other occasions, to  
 " the good of his people) so principally to act, that, with  
 " the benediction of the Supreme Being, and under his glo-  
 " rious protection, he might assemble and form, in this ca-  
 " pital, a society of professors of the most enlightened sci-  
 " ences, who should apply themselves to the extension of  
 " human knowledge for the public benefit, cultivate more  
 " and more the arts, and, above all, *advance the glory of*  
 " *GOD, and spread the salutary truths of the Christian doc-*  
 " *trine.*

" This very wise king has judged, that, notwithstanding  
 " the multitude of academies, universities, and schools,  
 " which, like so many habitations of the muses and of wis-  
 " dom, exist, and are abundantly provided with all the ne-  
 " cessary succours in the divers states subject to his majesty,  
 " there was still wanting, to fill the measure of his glo-  
 " ry, the establishment of an academy similar to this, in  
 " which, as well by the contemplation of the brilliant and  
 " admirable works of GOD in the reign of nature, as by  
 " the care, the culture, and even the invention of the most  
 " excellent points in letters, the arts, and all sorts of lau-  
 " dable studies, worthy of praise and conformable to virtue,  
 " the glory of his reign, and of his states, as well as that of  
 " Germany, our common country, should rise with redoubled  
 " vigour and effect into a more luminous state, and perpe-  
 " tually

"tually maintain itself therein; and that, in the mean  
"time, by instituting *missions*, not only among Christians,  
"our neighbours, but among the most distant barbarians,  
"the knowledge of evangelical truths, and the glorious  
"name of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, should insensibly be-  
"come divulged and propagated among the nations. But,  
"it having pleased the SUPREME BEING, who had thus or-  
"dained it in the eternal council of his wisdom, that the  
"war should kindle afresh, and should extend its travels  
"farther than ever it had done before; the provinces of our  
"august king, being surrounded on all sides by the tumult  
"of arms, and this monarch himself being engaged in the  
"war, in which he could not avoid taking part, and in  
"which, contrary to all hope and expectation, he finds  
"himself actually enveloped; yet, notwithstanding, he has  
"not suffered his excellent design to suffer any delay, so that  
"not only has he enriched in time this society by him as-  
"sembled with able men worthy of being members of the  
"same, as well as with a fund sufficient for the expences,  
"and all other largesses which can excite emulation, but,  
"still further, has declared himself the sovereign protector  
"of it, and has been pleased that on this day, which fol-  
"lows immediately the anniversary of his coronation, this  
"society of sciences, which is so dear to him, and which  
"is really supported by his august protection, should be so-  
"lemnly established, having graciously charged me to pre-  
"side at the functions of this solemnity. We cannot suffi-  
"ciently acknowledge these signal graces of our beneficent  
"king by sentiments of zeal, affection, and respect, which  
"should be proportioned to them, nor celebrate them wor-  
"thily by our praises: and as, on account of this inability,  
"the principal part of our lively gratitude, and of our ardent  
"zeal, must consist in that, being informed of the in-  
"tentions and the will of this *Solomon* of our days, we shall  
"employ all our industry, and all our powers, to procure the  
"execution

“ execution of the same ; each of us labouring, as far as  
 “ he shall be capable of it, to contribute to the salutary  
 “ views of this gracious sovereign, and to hasten the ac-  
 “ complishment of them by acquitting himself, with fidelity,  
 “ of the task which falls to his lot ; we ought, at the same  
 “ time, and for the same end, all with one heart and one  
 “ voice, to redouble, and, as it were, accumulate the fervent  
 “ prayers and tender wishes which all the subjects of the  
 “ Prussian sceptre send forth day and night, and without any  
 “ intermission, for the preservation (so much desired) of our  
 “ august monarch ; to the end that it may please THE MOST  
 “ HIGH AND MOST GREAT GOD to preserve, for a very long  
 “ time, the precious pledge of his love that he has given  
 “ us from Heaven, this sacred *palladium*, to which is attached  
 “ the duration of our felicity, by making him reign through-  
 “ out a long series of years in the midst of that splendour  
 “ and that abundance which render this kingdom happy  
 “ above most others, by heaping on him all the gifts which  
 “ he merits in consequence of his virtues, but, above all,  
 “ his *piety* and zeal for the glory of the DIVINE NAME, by  
 “ granting him, in a word, together with the last largess,  
 “ even though we should not demand it, every thing (that  
 “ can be desired) the most agreeable and the most happy.  
 “ May the SUPREME BEING second and favour, by his bene-  
 “ volence, all those enterprizes which are the emanations of  
 “ his wisdom and his piety, but in a very particular manner  
 “ the illustrious society which he has just founded ; so that,  
 “ assisted by his aid and his succour, it may serve, according  
 “ to the desire and perpetual intention of our august mo-  
 “ narch, *to propagate, to the very extremities of the earth, the*  
 “ *glory of the MOST HOLY DIVINITY, to extend the narrow*  
 “ *limits of the Christian church, to display the standard of the*  
 “ *Cross in places still covered with the thick clouds of ignorance*  
 “ *and incredulity ; as well as to inflame the minds of men*  
 “ *for the study of the arts and sciences, by filling them with*  
 “ the



“ the desire of knowing and exalting more and more the  
“ marvellous works of GOD ; to augment, in short, the re-  
“ nown and celebrity of all the states and provinces under  
“ the dominion of our august king, and to consecrate eternal  
“ monuments to the glory of the illustrious name of Ger-  
“ many ! As for myself, I am partly terrified by the con-  
“ sciousness of the deficiency of my powers, partly over-  
“ whelmed with the weight of other affairs of the last im-  
“ portance, for the management of which I am responsible,  
“ and consequently I might have endeavoured to evade the  
“ acceptance of the presidency of this so very commendable  
“ society, for the advancement of whose labours my pains  
“ can scarcely contribute the least assistance. However, I chose  
“ not to hesitate and scrupulously weigh these difficulties,  
“ rather than derogate in any thing whatsoever from that  
“ implicit and very humble obedience which I pay to the gra-  
“ cious will and intentions of my most beneficent king, and  
“ which I wish personally to testify on this glorious occasion ;  
“ founding myself principally on this confidence, which  
“ is, that you, illustrious personages, who have been chosen  
“ to enter into this royal society, and who all in general,  
“ and each in particular, have given me evident marks and  
“ manifest proofs of your zeal and attachment for me, will  
“ not refuse to accord me the reciprocal and efficacious suc-  
“ cours which I demand of you with all possible earnestness ;  
“ to the end that, by the means of that ardour and anxiety  
“ which in some sort are natural impulses in me, and  
“ which I cannot throw off ; that ardour (let me repeat) and  
“ anxiety which I have to procure advantages for this illu-  
“ strious academy of sciences, to which the solemn cere-  
“ mony of this day, and this inauguration, give, in some  
“ measure, a new birth ; assisted by your faithful succour,  
“ I may be enabled to prove useful to you upon some occa-  
“ sions ; and it is to this point that I shall constantly direct  
“ all my industry and labours. I am now, therefore, (and  
“ may

“ may GOD grant that this act may be followed by the hap-  
 “ piest success!) solemnly, and in pursuance of the most  
 “ gracious order of our beneficent king, to deliver to you,  
 “ most learned and most reverend vice-president, and by  
 “ you to all the illustrious royal society of sciences, the seal  
 “ which his majesty has granted you, which you may duly  
 “ make use of, at all times, for the administration and expe-  
 “ dition of all the affairs of the society. I am to present  
 “ you, likewise, these keys of the observatory, and of the  
 “ court which is set apart for the society. I consecrate,  
 “ agreeably to the intention and most gracious will of our  
 “ supreme protector and august king, this place to be the  
 “ dwelling of this illustrious society; I put them in pos-  
 “ session of the same, and give them the right of holding  
 “ their assemblies and transacting their affairs in it, wishing,  
 “ with all my heart, that these keys, which I deliver to them,  
 “ may be a happy pledge and a certain presage of the suc-  
 “ cess of their administration, and of the profound discoveries  
 “ which may, hereafter, arise from their industry, in the  
 “ most secret points; to the end that, under such favourable  
 “ auspices, and with the good omen of yesterday, consecrated  
 “ to the anniversary of the coronation, the present society,  
 “ founded and inaugurated, may pass to the latest posterity,  
 “ flourish and perpetuate itself, with all the great and rich  
 “ fruits which we promise ourselves from it, to the immortal  
 “ fame of its glorious founder.”

(89) The matter is thus related in the Life of Voltaire recently published :

“ The court of Versailles sent the marquis de Beauvau to  
 “ compliment Frederick on his accession to the throne, but  
 “ the main object was to discover his secret intentions re-  
 “ specting his army in Silesia. Voltaire was employed on  
 “ this negotiation, and the moment of his appearing in  
 “ Prussia was favourable. The young monarch was then

“ negotiating

“negotiating secretly with the court of Vienna, to which  
 “he offered his army and money for the purpose of placing  
 “the crown upon the head of Maria-Theresa, and *this*  
 “under the condition of Silesia being ceded to him. This  
 “youthful princess, who had at that time neither treasures  
 “nor troops, rejected a friendship offered to her from a  
 “party possessed of both. The king of Prussia, piqued at  
 “this refusal, determined on war. Voltaire remained but  
 “three days with him, and, as soon as he was sure of the  
 “part which he designed to take, he instantly left him, and  
 “brought the news of it to Versailles.

“Valori, chargé des affaires of France in Prussia, who  
 “was not in the secret, thought that Voltaire had withdrawn  
 “dissatisfied, though he carried away a little bag of gold  
 “medals which were given to him by Frederick. He wrote,  
 “in consequence of all this, to Versailles, to give an account  
 “of Voltaire’s appearance in Prussia, and of his supposed  
 “disgrace.

“Valori’s letter, the contents of which have been com-  
 “municated to us, is still in the office of foreign affairs; and  
 “the silence of Voltaire prevented the public from being  
 “undeceived. Hence originated the rumours which were  
 “then circulated of his having appeared in Prussia only to  
 “experience a coolness from the young monarch. His  
 “enemies seized this opportunity to send verses and dedi-  
 “catory epistles to the king, who returned not the least an-  
 “swer to either the one or the other.”

(90) The following are his poetical remarks upon the sub-  
 ject in an epistle to Stil :

Illustrious Sons of Albert ! whose dread Foe  
 Within the grave, alas ! has laid you low !  
 And, yet, you perish on bright Honour’s ground !  
 Dear Offsprings of th’ Elector, thrice renown’d,  
 Who, frequent, like yourselves, with ardor brave,  
 Risqu’d life, his States and native Land to save !

Lov’d



Lov'd Finck ! Ah ! Schoulenbourg ! for each I sigh !  
 And, *Thou !* Fitzgerald ! *Thou* art proud to die !  
 The English and Hungarians view the slain,  
 Nor from astonishment or praise refrain ;  
 But, when the gallant victims, freely, fall,  
 Extol, whilst they lament the fate of all.  
 Then, glorious, in the long-disputed field,  
 The Patriot and the Hero scorn'd to yield.  
 Against th' experienc'd vet'ran bands they fought,  
 And reap'd the triumph which they, nobly, sought :  
 Vanquish'd the legions which, at Eugene's side,  
 Were Victors ; and th' Austrian force defy'd.

. . . . .  
 Ah ! Rotenbourg ! when I thy corpse survey'd,  
 What keen affliction did my heart invade !  
 Thou Sacrifice to Death ! Thou mangled Shade !  
 Or Esculapius, when my pray'rs arose,  
 Deign'd, with a miracle, to interpose,  
 Or Mars recall'd thee from the Stygian coast ;  
 For, *still*, thine arm repell'd the Austrian host,  
 And thy *last* looks enjoy'd their rapid flight.  
 Werdeck and Buddenbrock, too brave in fight,  
 Pursu'd ; but, clos'd their eyes in endless night. . . .

. . . . .  
 Schwerin, Truchses, Doring ! your latest breath  
 Gasp'd in a glorious, enviable death.

. . . . .  
 O Wedel ! our Achilles ! *thy* great aid  
 To full success its brilliant progress made !  
 Goltz ! our Ulysses ! *yet* on *Thee* we call,  
 Whilst tears of blood upon thy cypress fall.

. . . . .  
 At valiant Bredon Death strikes unawares,  
 Nor, cruel ! his resplendent virtue spares.

. . . . .  
 Ah ! Polentz ! Kleist ! Rindorf ! at ev'ry vein  
 Ye bleed ! and sink, though Victors, 'midst the slain !

*Epistle*

(91) *Epistle from Voltaire to the King of Prussia.*

“Cirey, 21<sup>st</sup> December, 1741.

Sun! that on Winter shed’st thy pallid gleam!

Thou! Father of this earthly World!

Thou whom the Sire of charming verse we deem,

Though trash is, daily, to oblivion hurl’d:

Declare, by what relentless fate,

Thou mean’st, just at the year’s approaching end,

Still, at the distance of degrees, to wait,

Nor, with thy rays, at Berlin’s Court attend?

*There*, lives *my Hero*! One whose heart and head

Shines through his states, with necessary fire:

One that to Neiss his brilliant conquests spread,

Whilst *Thou* didst from our climes retire.

Ah! wherefore dost Thou seek th’ antarctic Pole?

What charms for *Thee* can *Africans* assume?

Back from that savage land resolve to roll!

Shine like *my Hero*! and the *North* illumine!

“In such language, sire, did I, this morning, address the sun, your associate, who is likewise the soul of part of this world. I could say much more to him respecting your majesty, had I that facility of making verses which I no longer possess, but which you enjoy. I have received some verses which you made at Neiss as easily as you took that town. This little anecdote, joined to the poetry which your humanity sent me immediately after the victory of Molwitz, furnishes very singular memoirs, and such as may, at some future period, serve as materials for history. Louis XIV. took Franche Comté during the winter, but he did not either engage in battle, or make verses in his camp before Dole or Besançon. Accordingly, I have taken the liberty to tell your majesty, that the history of Louis XIV. appeared to me too narrow a circle; but, I find that Frederick enlarges the sphere of my ideas. The verses which your majesty made in Neiss resemble those composed by Solomon in his glory,

when he declared, after the enjoyment of every thing, *All is vanity!* The good man said this, indeed, surrounded by three hundred wives and seven hundred concubines, himself, at the same time, a total stranger to the whole without either a battle or a siege. But, with the permission, sire, of Solomon and you, or you and Solomon, there is still some little reality in the world.

Behold the Chief, whose gallant bands  
Have vanquish'd the Silesian lands!  
His brows immortal laurels grace!  
'The Muses wait for his embrace!  
The Hero and the Fair he calls  
To Op'ras, Comedies, and Balls!  
Reclin'd on Glory's radiant breast,  
Prais'd, honour'd, dreaded and carefs'd,  
To social life with ease he bends,  
Whilst Victory, surpris'd, attends,  
And fees (how rare!) her fav'rite Son  
In peace, improve what valour won;  
Hears him, when national affairs  
No longer need his anxious cares,  
Enamour'd with the strain, rehearse  
From ancient leaves of classic verse;  
And, oft, inspir'd, such numbers write  
As shall Posterity delight!  
'Thus Fred'rick lives! and hours like these  
Are constituted, all, to please:  
Realities the charm maintain,  
Nor e'er admit Chimera's reign.

"Your majesty has performed much in a short time. I am persuaded that there is not a man on earth more occupied than yourself, and more involved in a variety of affairs of every kind. But with this insatiable genius, which brings so many objects within the sphere of its activity, you still retain that superiority of reason which elevates you above what you are, and what you do.

"All



"All I fear is, lest you should acquire too great a contempt for men. The millions of animals without feathers, and with two feet, which people the globe, are at an immense distance from your person, with respect to the faculties of their mind, as well as their condition. There is a beautiful verse in Milton ;

" *Amongst unequals no society.*"

"Another unlucky circumstance is, that your majesty paints so well the noble knaveries of politicians, the interested assiduity of courtiers, &c. that you will finish by doubting of the affection of men of every kind, and take it for a truth demonstrated in morals, that it is impossible to love a king for himself. Permit me, sire, to take the liberty of thus offering you my demonstration. Is it not true, that we cannot help loving for himself a man of superior understanding, who possesses many talents, and to all those talents adds the art of pleasing? Now, should this superior genius unfortunately happen to be a king, ought such a circumstance to put him on a worse footing than other men? And shall we love him less because he wears a crown? For my own part, I feel that the crown is far from producing that effect. I am, &c."

(92) *Epistle from Voltaire to the King of Prussia.*

Ill-judging Jesters ! Critics unreclaim'd !  
 False Wits ! whose stand'rous tongues have worth defam'd !  
 Ye ! thoughtless Speakers ! ignorantly bold !  
 Who *Monarchs* in *your* scales attempt to hold,  
 And question the existence of a mind  
 In which the Hero and the Sage are join'd !  
 Ye ! Enemies of Glory and of Rhime !  
 Censors of Kings ! Seek the *Silesian* clime !  
 An hundred Legions lie defeated there :  
 To Neiss, where Fred'rick fought, Come ! if you dare !  
 There, my Philosopher in union stands  
 With brilliant Fame : Bellona he commands ;

Of Sweden's Charles th' intrepid soul outvies,  
 Than *Him* more mild, experienc'd and wise!  
 With universal talents blest, he runs,  
 And gains the race of Arts from Wisdom's sons.  
 Of Nature he can view the works profound;  
 Of pious Quacks th'erroneous faith confound;  
 At feasts, with unconstrain'd and lib'ral ease,  
 Preeminently use the pow'r to please;  
 All-knowledge, and all-action, can proceed  
 From Sports to Battles, with a Victor's speed;  
 Can, soaring, from Parnassian summits, rise,  
 And, near Olympus seek sublimer skies.  
 Not the Twelfth Charles, Gustavus, or Turenne,  
 Though justly rank'd amongst the bravest men,  
 Had ever drunk, or, in idea, seen  
 The verse-inspiring streams of Hippocrene:  
 Yet, *These*, on whom the Muse disdain'd to wait,  
 Although less polish'd, ceas'd not to be great.  
*My Prince* above *their common* glory flies:  
 Warrior and Bard, his *double* force he tries:  
 Now, like Achilles, glows with martial fire;  
 And, now, like Homer, strikes th'unequall'd lyre.  
 By turns, the Scourge of Austria and of Fools,  
 Great in the Cabinet, as great in Schools,  
 True Policy's vast force his projects shew,  
 Whilst Wit and Learning through his converse flow.  
 Now, Rome, Geneva now his smiles excites;  
 Yet, as He speaks, gives battle, acts, or writes,  
 Lord of Himself, consistent he remains,  
 And, still, th' accomplish'd Character sustains.  
 Dear Prince! secure from all those dangers rest,  
 Which, for thy worth and sense, alarm my breast!  
 Concert and execute! thy *mind* display!  
 Yet, cannon balls to *this* no defence pay.  
 Guns, charg'd by *Fools*, may throw the fatal lead  
 Which shivers an enlighten'd Hero's head:  
 Its weight, increasing through its quicken'd course,  
 Cuts the resisting air with equal force.

Then, stretch, and laden with a glorious name,  
 On the state-bed we view thy lifeless frame.  
 Thou to thy native Land a corpse art brought!  
 Where's the Academy? Distracting thought!  
 Upon *that* Form which wars, victorious, wag'd,  
 See their dissecting instruments engag'd!  
 And, Lo! th'Anatomists, the pupils vile  
 Of Atropos, with impious hands, despoil  
 Their Sov'reign's clay-cold image! They explain  
 The nature of his philosophic brain;  
 Mark its fertility; admiring, say:  
 "Here, did th'unrivall'd thought its pow'r display!"  
 Then pointing to the shatter'd heart, declare  
 "Beneficence and Justice flourish'd there!"  
 "There, *all* the Virtues still rejoic'd to meet,  
 "And Greatness chose it for her fav'rite seat!"  
 Now, their incision-knives. . . . but, I refrain:  
 These lays no more shall such descriptions stain:  
 With strokes terrific is the picture fraught,  
 And my soul shrinks, in horror, from the thought.  
 May Heav'n, that Fred'rick with delight surveys,  
 And marks the spotless splendor of his days,  
 A life thus led one lengthen'd blessing make,  
 For *his*, for mine, and for the Nation's sake!  
 Lov'd Prince! in pleasure, most (sweet Prize of Worth!)  
 In war and peace, surpasses the *Ics* of Earth!  
*Theodoric, Alaric, Utric*; These,  
 With *Jenseric*, by millions of degrees,  
 Fall short of deeds and qualities like thine,  
 And cease, 'midst *Frederician* beams, to shine.  
 Whilst each bright victory the next creates,  
 And, thus, extends thy glory and thy states,  
 Remember that my Muse, when battles rag'd,  
 Thy virtues sung, and thy exploits presag'd:  
 Think Thou hast deign'd, in writing, to declare,  
 Though rais'd to Grandeur's heights. . . . *I love Voltaire!*  
 Swift Victor! Politician wife! Adieu!  
 To me thine *heart* presents the *richest* view!



*This* thirty vanquish'd provinces outweighs !  
And, most, on *this*, with ecstasy I gaze !

(93) *Letter from Voltaire to the King of Prussia in 1742.*

“ SIRE,

“ Whilst I was ill, your majesty has performed more brilliant actions than I have experienced returns of the fever.  
“ I was unable to answer your majesty's late marks of goodness. Besides, where could I have addressed my letter?  
“ To Vienna ? to Presburg ? to Temeswar ? You might have entered one of these towns ; and indeed, if there is a being who can be present in several places at a time, it is assuredly yourself, in quality of the image of the divinity, as all princes are ; and a very thinking and very active image this is ! But, not to conceal the truth, I did not write because I was in my bed while your majesty was on horseback flying from place to place covered with snow and with successes.

Could I, for *certain* truths, receive  
What th' Esculapian tribes believe.  
I, soon, must be content to die,  
And to that *only* region fly,  
Where, of *your* fame the brilliant rays  
Have, hitherto, disdain'd to blaze :  
Where all the Travellers refuse  
To bring one single piece of news :  
Where, pouring in, from day to day,  
Souls, dull and barb'rous we survey,  
Which, from Hungarian bodies burst,  
Or those of Pandours, as accurst,  
At your command, by sound of drum,  
Unto their *kindred* Devil come ;  
They dy'd, by Frederick's decrees,  
His injur'd honour to appease.

What strange ideas may we trace  
In the description of this place !

All blind alike, the Turk, the Jew,  
 The Christian, will the theme pursue :  
 Divines and Doctors of *Sorbonne*  
 Make their absurd opinions known ;  
 Of this *strange* land wild sketches draw ;  
 Delineate spots they never saw ;  
 Pretend to give th' exactest view,  
 And, falsely, call the picture true.

Thus, credulous, in Satire's strain,  
 Parisian Dolts will *all* explain !  
 How much the flighty Sons of France  
 Love a political Romance !  
 Now, they judge wrong ; now, argue well,  
 Yet, each event affect to tell ;  
 Now, with authoritative air,  
*Belle-Isle's* approaching Fate declare ;  
*Perhaps, your* martial progress view,  
 And say what will become of *You* !  
 Their empty conversations shew  
 They judge of *One* they little know.

" I only set one foot on the banks of the *Stryx*, but I am  
 " extremely sorry, sire, for the number of poor wretches  
 " whom I saw ferried over. Some arrived from *Scharding*,  
 " others from *Prague*, or *Iglau*. Will you never cease, you  
 " and your brother kings, to ravage this earth, which you all  
 " have (as you pretend) such a desire to render happy ?

Rather than draw the sharpen'd steel,  
 Whose desolating strokes *all* feel,  
 The sound and virtuous counsels hear  
 Of the good *Abbé de Saint Pierre* !

" He would grant you whatsoever you could ask for, as  
 " easily as *Lycurgus* divided the lands of *Sparta*, and with  
 " the same facility by which equal portions are given to the  
 " monks. He would establish the fifteen governments of

“ Henry IV. of which it is certain, however, that Henry  
 “ never so much as dreamt. The duke of Sully’s secretaries,  
 “ who drew up his memoirs, indeed, mentioned such a cir-  
 “ cumstance, but, Villeroy the secretary of state, and minister  
 “ for foreign affairs, is silent on the subject. It is pleasant  
 “ enough to see the project of unsettling so many thrones at-  
 “ tributed to Henry IV. who had scarcely become settled on  
 “ his own. In the interim, sire, and until this European  
 “ diet shall assemble to render all monarchs moderate and  
 “ content, your majesty orders me to send you what I have  
 “ lately finished of the age of Louis XIV. because you find  
 “ time to read, when other men have no time for any thing.  
 “ I expect my papers from Brussels, and will have them tran-  
 “ scribed in obedience to your majesty’s orders. You will  
 “ perceive, perhaps, that I embrace too much ground, but as  
 “ I worked principally for your majesty, the sphere of the  
 “ world did not appear, in my idea, too extensive. I shall  
 “ have the honour, therefore, of sending your majesty, in a  
 “ month, an enormous packet, which will find you either in  
 “ the thickest ranks of battle, or in the trenches. I am not  
 “ sure that you are happier amidst all this crash of glory than  
 “ you were in the sweet retreat of *Rheinsberg*.

*Still*, flowing from a heart sincere,  
 Accept my love ! for, *still*, as dear,  
 Great Prince ! as when You were confin’d  
 To *Rheinsberg* and your polish’d mind ;  
 As dear as when, content to raise  
 Of eloquence the mighty blaze,  
 You, *once*, engag’d in laying waste  
 Those passions which have Kings disgrac’d ;  
 As dear as when your Muse assail’d  
 The vice and folly which prevail’d,  
 Striving a *friendly* war to wage  
 Against the victims of their rage,

That



That States and Sovereigns might yield  
 Before you dar'd them to the Field :  
 Thus dear may You for ever rest  
 Within my venerating breast !

“ Receive, sire, with your usual benignity, my profound  
 “ respect, and the assurance of that veneration which will  
 “ never cease, and of that tenderness which will cease only  
 “ when you shall no longer love me.”

(94) *Epistle from Voltaire to the King of Prussia.*

“ May 15th, 1742.

When in a living Father You the Master found,  
 With philosophic ease You reverenc'd the Laws ;  
     *Now*, that You reign, 'midst loud applause,  
     The most deserving to be crown'd,  
 To twenty Masters link'd, You serve their common cause.  
 These Masters all are Tyrants. Glory is the *first* ;  
     *His* brilliant fetters *You* admire :  
     Nor less on your poetic fire  
 Than your exploits, *He* bids the blaze of Vict'ry-burst.  
     Deep Policy stands at his side,  
     More mild and latent, but, as strong ;  
 Plots to preserve, annul, associate or divide,  
 And marks your steps, as Glory leads your form along.  
     Int'rest and Faith, not oft ally'd,  
 Foes to their diff'rent views, the pointed arms they wield :  
 By turns, prove *dang'rous friends*, or *enemies conceal'd*.  
 From day to day fresh projects and new perils rise !  
 Judiciously to act ; to be all ears ; all eyes ;  
     These with seducing hope to chear ;  
 These with engaging words ; and those with reasons wise.  
 To make a subjugated land your pow'r revere,  
     How great the toil ! what checks You find !  
 Crowns are not half so charming as they all appear ;  
     What *cost* to form the Hero's mind !

“ And

“ And, yet, fire ! to *you* the *cost* is nothing ; to *you* all is  
 “ natural ; *you* perform great and wise actions with as much  
 “ facility as *you* compose music and poetry, and write those  
 “ letters which would secure to any accomplished genius in  
 “ France a distinguished rank among his jealous rivals.

“ I conceive some hope that your majesty will consolidate  
 “ the peace of Europe as you have shaken it, and that my  
 “ fellow-creatures will bless you after having admired you.  
 “ My expectation is not wholly founded on the project which  
 “ the abbé de Saint Pierre has sent to your majesty\* ; I pre-  
 “ sume that you see things which the pacificator, too little  
 “ attended to by this world, only wants to see, and that the  
 “ philosophic king is perfectly acquainted with what the phi-  
 “ losopher, who is no king, strives in vain to fathom. I  
 “ still presume much from your charitable intentions. But  
 “ what puts me in perfect security, is the importation which  
 “ your majesty has just made from France of a dozen male  
 “ and female cutters of capers ; we seldom dance but in peace,  
 “ though it is true you have made some neighbouring powers  
 “ pay the piper ; but that is for the common welfare and  
 “ your own. You have re-established the dignity and prero-  
 “ gatives of the electors. Upon a sudden you are become  
 “ the arbiter of Germany, and in making an emperor, no-  
 “ thing was wanting to yourself but the title. With this  
 “ you have one hundred and twenty thousand men, well  
 “ formed, well armed, well clothed, well fed, and loyally  
 “ disposed. At the head of them you have gained towns and  
 “ battles ; is it for *you* to dance, fire ? Voiture would have  
 “ told you that you have the air of a dancer, but I am not so  
 “ familiar as he was with great men and kings, nor does it  
 “ become me to banter them.

\* The abbé de Saint Pierre wrote twenty volumes on politics. He frequently sent the king of Prussia and other princes projects for a general pacification. Cardinal Dubois called his works the dreams of a man of worth.

“ Instead

" Instead of twelve good academicians, you have, then,  
 " fire, twelve excellent dancers. This is rather easier to find,  
 " and infinitely more gay ; for we have more than once seen  
 " heroes, wearied with academicians, divert themselves with  
 " actors of the opera.

" This opera, however, with which your majesty decorates  
 " Berlin, does not hinder you from thinking of polite lite-  
 " rature. Under *your* auspices, one taste does not clash against  
 " another. There are souls with only one taste, yours is  
 " endowed with all accomplishments ; and if God considered  
 " all mankind as deserving of his love, he would grant this  
 " universality to all princes, that they might be able to dis-  
 " cern what is good of every kind, and protect it. It was  
 " for this, I imagine, that they were originally formed.

" I know some actors of tragedy, not without talents, and  
 " who might suit your majesty ; for, I flatter myself that  
 " you will not wholly confine your favours to Italian non-  
 " sense and French gambols. The hero will always like  
 " the theatre where heroes are represented. May you, sire,  
 " soon enjoy all sorts of pleasures, as you have acquired  
 " every kind of glory ! This is the sincere wish of your  
 " admirer, and subject from inclination, but who unfortu-  
 " nately does not live in your dominions ? It is the unfeign-  
 " ed emotion of a mind penetrated with the greatness of  
 " yours, and of a heart which interests itself in your hap-  
 " piness as warmly as yourself.

" Receive, sire, with your usual goodness, my very pro-  
 " found respects."

(95) *Letter from the King of Prussia to Voltaire.*

" Had the histories of the world been written like that  
 " with which you have entrusted me, we should be better  
 " informed of the manners of all ages, and less imposed upon  
 " by historians. The more I know of you, the more do I  
 " discover that you are an extraordinary man. Never did I  
 " read



“ read a more beautiful style than that of the History of Louis  
 “ XIV. I read every paragraph three or four times, so much  
 “ am I enchanted with it ; each line carries conviction : the  
 “ whole is enriched with excellent reflections : not a false  
 “ thought, nothing puerile, and every sentence bears the  
 “ stamp of perfect impartiality. As soon as I have gone  
 “ through the whole work, I will send you a few trifling re-  
 “ marks, among others, on the German names, which are ra-  
 “ ther ill treated ; a circumstance which may throw obscurity  
 “ on the work, as there are names which set conjecture at  
 “ defiance.

“ I could wish that your pen had composed every work  
 “ that has appeared, which is at all instructive. This, in-  
 “ deed, would be a sure mean of improvement, and of deri-  
 “ ving utility from reading.

“ I am sometimes out of patience with the trifling manner,  
 “ the meagre reflections, or the dryness which prevails in  
 “ certain authors. They throw the burthen of instruction  
 “ upon the reader ; *you* spare your readers this trouble ; let a  
 “ man be, or not be, possessed of judgment, he profits equally  
 “ by your works ; memory alone is requisite.

“ I conjure you, my dear friend, to inform me of every  
 “ thing you are doing at Cirey, which I envy.”

(96) The following are Frederick's verses to Arnaud :

D'Arnaud ! Command thy Genius and thy Lyre  
 These cold and torpid Cantons to inspire !  
 Chase the dull slumbers of my Muse away,  
 And bid her listen to thy magic lay !  
 In strains so elegant and warm as thine  
 Our Nymphs, as Cyprian Goddesses shall shine.  
 Love o'er your captivating songs presides,  
 And all his footsteps Gentle Pleasure guides !  
*You* may, without temerity, arise,  
 In conscious triumph seek sublimer skies,

To Homer's and to Virgil's Climes repair,  
 And prove, at least, the Equal of *Voltaire* !  
 The Gallic Phebus, less dispos'd to shine,  
 Seems to precipitate his own decline.  
 Ascend ! and dart around your brilliant rays :  
 A second Sun, although the first should blaze !  
 Thus does the beauteous close of lucid day  
 Tell that the Morn shall brighter beams display !

(97) When Frederick desired Voltaire to examine his manuscripts, he sometimes agreeably excused himself, to have the opportunity of flattering his royal pupil. Yielding, one day, to his solicitations, he said, "*Sire, I am going to put on the abbé d'Olivet's gown and band, and I will then examine the duty of my master.*"

Sometimes the king disputed with him, but finally avowed his faults and adopted the corrections. The poem on War occasioned a discussion between these two great men. Voltaire was of opinion that a didactic poem, the uniformity of which generally produces languor, ought to contain but few examples, as examples are generally cold. He wished to have it ornamented with agreeable episodes, which, by varying the progress of the poem, might awaken the imagination of the reader. Frederick, on the contrary, alledged that a poem like his required fewer episodes than examples, because examples give birth to enthusiasm and courage.

(98) In 1736, M. de Maupertuis had been sent by the French Government to the polar circle with Messieurs Clairaut, Camus, Le Monnier, and Cuthier, to measure a degree, and verify the true figure of the earth. The measures which they took, and the conclusions which they drew, amounted to a proof that the form of the earth was such as it had been described by the immortal Newton when he pursued his philosophical researches in his study. Voltaire and all the Newtonians celebrated the return of the academicians. Maupertuis had  
 him-

himself painted in the habit of a Laplander occupied in flattening the earth. This picture was engraved, and Voltaire wrote these verses at the bottom of the print :

The Globe's vast space, once, slightly, ascertain'd,  
By *Him*, more justly measur'd and explain'd,  
Shall, like a glorious monument, proclaim  
His pow'rful talents and his matchless fame.  
Earth shews her form to his inquiring mind,  
And *his* report delights whilst it instructs Mankind.

"For ten years Voltaire had carried on a literary intercourse with Maupertuis, whom he always flattered, because he knew his weakness, treating him as a lover would serve a haughty and capricious mistress. When Maupertuis, in 1733, published his essay on the figure of the planets, Voltaire wrote to him as follows : *"I have read it with as much pleasure as a girl reads a romance, or a devotee the gospel."*

Almost all the letters from Voltaire to Maupertuis were in the same style. The latter had been of the society of Madame du Chatelet, and quarrelled with her. Attempts were made to reconcile them, but the haughtiness of Maupertuis rendered every measure of this sort abortive.

This difference still subsisted when Voltaire was received at the French academy, and in his discourse he did not mention him among the great men then living. Maupertuis continued long hurt at this neglect.

Voltaire made amends for the additional chagrin arising from the favour in which he was with Frederick, by redoubling his attention and politeness towards him, as well as the other Frenchmen, to whom he never spoke but in the civilest and most flattering terms. He had them frequently to dine with him, and the invitations were always given *to eat the king's roast* ; the name which he bestowed on the table allowed him by the king.



(99) Persons, at that time, about the king, assert that Frederick never intended that his subjects should be paid more than what was really due to them, and that he said on the occasion, "*My cousin Augustus has been guilty of an overfight, but it is not for me to profit by it.*"

(100) After paying a visit one day to Maupertuis, the king, enraged against Voltaire, said to his secretary, D'Arget, "*Write to Voltaire that it is my pleasure he should leave my dominions in four-and-twenty hours.*"

D'Arget, trembling, twice desired him to repeat the order. The king, becoming a little calmer, asked him what he thought of it. The secretary replied, "Sire, you have invited him to be near your person; the commission is on the point of judging him; if he be found culpable, you will have time enough to dismiss him." The king remained silent for a moment, and, then, said to D'Arget, "*You are in the right; you are an honest man.*"

Frederick's excessive anger against Voltaire on this occasion, is said to have arisen from the following anecdote related to him by Maupertuis:—One day that general Manstein was in Voltaire's room, where he was putting the memoirs of that officer into French, the king sent him a copy of verses, in his manner, to examine; Voltaire, on this occasion, wished Manstein a good day, saying to him, "*Another time, my friend: you see the king has just sent me his dirty linen to wash; I will wash yours afterwards.*"

The persons who conveyed these pleasantries to the king, excited him, also, to retaliate on the poet, and no sooner did any joke escape Frederick than it was instantly carried to Voltaire. La Mettrie having said to the king that others were jealous of the favour and fortune of Voltaire, he replied, "*Let him go on; we squeeze the orange, and throw it away when we have swallowed the juice.*" This anecdote does not ill paint, in my opinion, Frederick's designs upon Voltaire.

He

He never had any other object but to get his works corrected and published by this celebrated author. It was hardly possible for two minds of this stamp, and two men of this condition, cordially to love each other, and live long together.

(101) The abbé de Prades, who had been obliged to quit France on account of a famous thesis of which he was *not* the author, found an asylum with the king of Prussia, who took a pleasure in every thing that could humiliate priests. This abbé, however, was suspected, during the war, of some illicit correspondence, and shut up at Magdebourg.

(102) The marquis d'Argens tells us, in his *Secret Memoirs of the Republic of Letters*, that no man of merit assisted at this judgment. Maupertuis had prepared every thing by the intrigues of the cabal, and was sure of the suffrages of all those who either looked up to him for their fortune, or dreaded his resentment.

(103) When Voltaire quitted Potzdam, he wrote thus to the king :

“ Sire !

“ I forget in Switzerland all my faults at Berlin ; I am  
 “ very sorry, for your majesty’s sake, that those of princes  
 “ are not of a nature to be forgotten : but for this, I would  
 “ give you my receipt in full ; a present, which possibly  
 “ would be worth all those which you had once deigned to  
 “ think of conferring upon me.”

(104) We may imagine how much business must have been expedited in so short a time. Let us suppose two hours for answering all these letters, it would still seem impossible to perform it. Let us recollect, also, that these cabinet secretaries, in general, were men who had been laqueys to  
 Frederick.

Frederick. Accordingly, except political affairs, which the king either answered himself, or gave orders for that purpose to a particular secretary, and a few answers to foreign men of letters, the remainder were full of misconceptions or inconceivable contradictions. It would be extremely entertaining to see a collection of the most whimsical answers of these secretaries. When a favour or gratuity was demanded from the king, he frequently said, "*Refuse politely,*" or "*Grant,*" and sometimes he expressed peevishness; the secretary then recapitulated the words of the letter received, adding a few words in his own way, as he happened to be either the friend or the enemy of the suppliant, or well or ill paid by him or his enemies. I knew a man, who, when he wrote to the king, amused himself with making the answer before-hand, and he was rarely deceived. The king, who, signing these letters, never read them, unless in important matters, left, by these means, a free course to the folly or wickedness of his secretaries: hence so many ridiculous answers imputed to Frederick, and which ought to have been laid to the account only of this sort of secretaries.

It has often happened, in cases of contestation or complaint, that the king's answers, like the oracles of Delphos, were so equivocal, that each party interpreted them in his own favour, and that the magistrates charged with the execution of the orders of the cabinet, either knew not what part to take, or oppressed the suitors according to their caprice or passions. The king generally called his cabinet counsellors, *My scribes*; and he named them properly.

(105) At his return from the parade, it was his custom to enter a hall, to discover whether any person wished either to be presented, or to speak to him; he remained there five or six minutes, and made his bow, even though there was no person but his valets-de-chambre.



(106) Affairs must have been greatly changed since that time; for, the king's brothers rarely went to Potsdam, and seldom ate with the king, except at Berlin during the carnival. He usually admitted to his table his generals and the officers of his first battalion. At the beginning of his reign it consisted of twenty-four covers, and sixteen dishes, including soup, pastry, entrées, roast, and second course, but which were all served at once. For this he gave his maitre d'hôtel a German crown a head: and it was enough; for, he paid separately for fish, game, and all extraordinary dishes from foreign countries. He was very fond of Amiens pies, which he often had, and each pye cost him forty or fifty crowns carriage. He was a great lover of fruit, and expended 100,000 crowns a year to have it in perfection in winter as well as summer. Towards the end of his life, his table consisted only of eight covers, and he never supped, except when at Berlin; and, there, he generally invited to supper baron de Prittwitz, general of the body-guard, the abbé Bastiani, an Italian, the marquis de Lucchesini, and count de Schwérin, his grand equerry. The king assisted at their supper, and familiarly conversed with them. It could not cost in all above a crown of the country, or about three shillings and nine-pence. Only one plate of fish was served, and the king used to say, jokingly, that nothing was so unwholesome as heavy suppers; so that these gentlemen, on quitting the royal table, usually went to make a real supper at home. It is not possible to understand what Voltaire means when he mentions his chamberlains. The king never admitted to his table people of that sort; yet he sometimes bestowed that title on persons whom he liked to see familiarly. The chamberlains with whom he ate were of the nature of Voltaire, the marquis d'Argens, and (afterwards) the marquis de Lucchesini.

(107) His dinner lasted an hour; and, on rising from

table,

table, he generally took aside one of the company, and conversed with him at the window, or when walking up and down the room: sometimes he led him to a passage, or even on the staircase, when he did not wish to be overheard by those who were in the room.

After dinner, he usually signed the answers which he had made to the papers laid before him in the morning.

(108) When the king was at Berlin, he generally sent for some academicians, or real or pretended men of letters, with whom he conversed familiarly in his chamber. The abbé Raynal said, on this occasion, "The king sends for so many worthless beings, and so many men of merit, that it is difficult to determine whether such an invitation be an honour, or whether the object of it does not stand the chance of being confounded with both classes."

During the last years of his life, the persons about him had made him a convert to the German literature, which he knew nothing of: or, rather, it is pretended, that this new and apparent predilection arose from policy; and that, desirous that the reign of his successor might not bear the least resemblance to his own, he wished to inculcate the idea of substituting the German to the French muse at Berlin. In this case his wishes are accomplished.

To D'Arget succeeded Catt, with whom the king became acquainted in Holland, and took him into his service; but Catt, being disgraced after an attendance of twenty years, his post was occupied by the abbé Duval Pirau. This abbé, whose conversation was not very unlike that of a serjeant of hussars, did not long remain in favour, and, on his dismissal, Frederick directed D'Alembert to procure him a reader. The academicians sent him a man named Le Bégue. Monsieur Le Bégue could not resist the pleasure of repeating at Berlin the substance of his conversations with the king, and Frederick, who had spies every where, heard

of his imprudence, and sent him from his cabinet into one of his French offices of customs. The particular fact which occasioned his dismissal is thus related. On his first coming to Potzdam, the king shewed him some of his apartments, in which were several portraits of the emperor Joseph II. Le Bégue, testifying his surprize at so often seeing the image of this antagonist of Frederick, he replied, "*He is a young man not to be lost sight of.*" This saying Le Bégue repeated at several suppers at Berlin, and the Italians who surrounded the king seized this opportunity of making him believe that all the French were Le Bégues; and, in consequence of this suggestion, he wrote no more for a reader to D'Alembert. Frederick, hearing of the son of a poor tailor, of the French colony at Berlin, who, at this time, taught Latin at Potzdam, to procure a subsistence, and to maintain his father, sent for him upon trial, and, in his first readings, meeting with a Greek word, of which he asked the meaning, the young man explained it. The king, who never before had any reader in his service who understood Greek, was enchanted with his erudition, and appointed him to the office from which Le Bégue had been dismissed. The tailor's son remained thus situated until his death.

(109) For the last eight or ten years he had no concerts, nor any longer played the flute. These concerts were almost entirely composed of wind instruments, and it required the highest degree of favour to be admitted to them.

The king, who was passionately fond of music, paid magnificently all his singers, and such as excelled on any instrument, except the flute. It seems as if he could not bear the presence of a competitor upon this last instrument; a disposition similar to that which prevented him from keeping long, upon any terms, with persons who made good verses. He esteemed a fine voice and a good violin from the same motives which made him prefer Maupertuis and D'Alembert



to Voltaire and the abbé Delisle. A virtuoso, who passed for one of the best flutes in Europe, presented himself one day at Potzdam, with the hopes of being well received by the king, and desired permission to play before him. Frederick received him in his cabinet, made him play a very difficult concerto of *his* composition, which the virtuoso never could have seen, and, when he had executed it with the greatest taste, the king said, "You play very well; I am extremely happy to have heard a virtuoso like you: I must give you a proof of my satisfaction." The musician expected a considerable present. Frederick took up his own flute; and, then, added, "*Now, you must hear me.*" Having gone through the concerto, he dismissed the flute-player with his usual slight salute.

(110) This baron de Poelnitz had three or four times changed his religion. Having, on one occasion, made himself a Catholic, and asked the king permission to resign, that he might marry a rich woman, he found himself disappointed in his expectations, and the marriage did not take place. Being now without money, out of office, and overwhelmed with debt, he wrote to the king from Nuremberg, proposing to return to the reformed church, if he would take him back into his service. Frederick answered thus:

"Whether you be of the reformed, the Catholic, or Lutheran church, is matter of great indifference to me; but, if you will get yourself circumcised, I will take you back into my service."

The following original pieces will give a further idea of this personage, and the manner in which the king treated him.

*Letter from Frederick II. to Baron de Pœlnitz, without date,  
but in the King's own hand-writing. \**

“ I have read your work, dear baron, with great attention;  
 “ and, as I know you do not wish to be flattered, I shall  
 “ give you my opinion of it with the utmost frankness. It  
 “ seems to me as if you did not actually understand yourself  
 “ when you began to write; for you must observe, that  
 “ what you have sent me is the history of the life of my  
 “ grandfather. Now there never was a history written in an  
 “ epistolary style, and even to that you do not uniformly  
 “ adhere. Letters should possess more freedom, and more  
 “ familiar reflections, than is consistent with the gravity of  
 “ history. If, then, you wish to write the history of the  
 “ two last reigns, reduce the whole into chapters, and draw  
 “ more information from the archives. As for what respects  
 “ negotiations, abridge those ceremonies and descriptions  
 “ which smell of newspapers; do not tell us, above once at  
 “ most, of four and twenty trumpets and two kettle-drums;  
 “ extend yourself more on great affairs, and reject all  
 “ puerilities; introduce only such anecdotes as characterize  
 “ the way of thinking of the court and sovereign, seasoning  
 “ them, from time to time, with short and epigrammatical  
 “ reflections. If you mean to adopt the form of letters, as-  
 “ sume a style less grave, speak more from yourself, and  
 “ follow the style of your former memoirs, which appears to  
 “ me more easy and entertaining than the present. I should  
 “ think, also, speaking generally of the work, that you  
 “ should not always compare my grandfather's ministers  
 “ with those of Louis XIV. and, above all, Dankelmann  
 “ to Colbert. There is a sort of affectation in these com-  
 “ parisons entirely borrowed from the court of France,  
 “ which cannot produce a good effect. Then you say of

\* Baron de Pœlnitz has written Memoirs and some other works.

“Meinders, that he had *finesse*, (*cunning*,) an extraordinary  
 “circumstance indeed for a German! and here and there you  
 “run into diffuseness on matters of ceremony, and details of  
 “petty individuals, which can interest no person whatsoever,  
 “as I have taken the liberty of pointing out to you on the  
 “margin with a pencil, that you may be able to efface it.  
 “In a word, either write gravely, and put more good matter  
 “into your work, or adhere to such anecdotes as you may  
 “embellish by your style, which is gay and sportive. At  
 “all events, however, do not rely upon my judgment, but  
 “consult your friends, who will tell you their sentiments.

“Adieu, baron, I wish you health and life! The amend-  
 “ment and performance of all the rest will prove easy.

“FREDERICK.”

*Another Letter from Frederick II. to Baron de Pœlnitz.*

“24th July, 1744.

“To answer your letter of the 11th of this month, filled  
 “with marks of your repentance, I shall tell you, what you  
 “will yourself admit, that your conduct towards me has  
 “been ridiculous, irregular, and even unworthy. After  
 “making you sensible, on different occasions, of my bounty  
 “and protection, having, amongst other presents, given you  
 “to the amount of 6000 crowns to extricate you from the  
 “abyss of your debts, you wantonly conceived the design  
 “of quitting my service without rhyme or reason, and with  
 “an imprudence of which there are few examples.

“Such marked ingratitude ought to hinder me from par-  
 “doning a man who has afforded me sufficient reason to  
 “discover that his pretended knowledge can never be ac-  
 “companied with rectitude, fidelity, and gratitude; which  
 “brings to my recollection a certain letter I found among  
 “the papers of my father, of glorious memory, the burthen!  
 “of which was conceived in these terms, *When will you*  
 “*become prudent . . . . . MY GOD!*

E c 4

“The



" The natural conclusion of all this is, that, were I dis-  
 " posed to act up to the ordinary rules of justice and of rea-  
 " son, I should be obliged wholly to abandon you, leaving  
 " you to extricate yourself from the sad consequences of  
 " your folly. But, as I am willing to take into conside-  
 " ration the circumstance, that, notwithstanding your wit,  
 " nature has denied you the judgment necessary to lead a  
 " life without reproach, and which she will, perhaps, never  
 " grant you, I have come to the resolution of once more  
 " sealing your pardon, and burying in oblivion every fault  
 " you have committed, provided that you cordially subscribe  
 " to the following conditions :

" 1. That I publish, in the whole city of Berlin, an  
 " order for no person to take upon him to lend you any  
 " thing whatsoever, either in money or merchandize, under  
 " the penalty of 100 ducats.

" 2dly. That I absolutely forbid you to set your foot in  
 " the house of any foreign minister, or hold any intercourse  
 " with them in other houses, or make your report to them  
 " of any thing spoken at table or in conversation.

" 3dly. That, as often as you shall be admitted to my  
 " table, finding the other guests in good humour, you shall  
 " carefully avoid assuming, unseasonably, the visage of  
 " a cuckold, and rather try to contribute to keep up and aug-  
 " ment their joy.

" Such are the essential points I have to prescribe to you.  
 " If you are wise enough to feel at heart the inclination and  
 " the ability to perform these conditions, I am ready to grant  
 " you a total amnesty and oblivion of all your faults : on which  
 " I pray GOD to take you into his holy keeping. Done at  
 " Berlin this 24th of July, 1744."

Underneath was written in the king's own hand:

" If you would rather serve *hogs* than great princes, as you  
 " have

"have said, you cannot want a situation; you will find  
 "employment in *Westphalia*, without standing in need  
 "of me.

"Get you gone; you are a sad rogue: and, if I *do* extri-  
 "cate you from the misery to which your follies and imper-  
 "tinences have reduced you, it is only from compassion.  
 "Your conduct has rendered you deserving to be shut up  
 "for ever between four walls,

"FREDERICK."

*Letter to the Minister of State, Count Podewils, on the Subject  
 of Baron de Pœlnitz.*

"I have received, with your note of the 28th of this  
 "month, the letter of apology, by which baron de Pœlnitz  
 "endeavours to give a turn to the roguish trick which he  
 "has played Martini the Paris merchant. I know well  
 "enough what to think of it. But, having pardoned the  
 "said Pœlnitz the follies he has committed, I shall overlook  
 "this also, on condition of his endeavouring to satisfy the  
 "merchant, and taking special care to be no more guilty of  
 "such transgressions, which I will never again forgive should  
 "he return to them, and in which case he shall feel all the  
 "weight of my indignation: and on this I pray GOD to  
 "take you into his holy keeping.

"At Berlin, this 30th of January, 1745.

"FREDERICK."

After the seven years war, baron de Pœlnitz was made di-  
 rector of the spectacles of the court. The king often saw  
 him, and liked to converse with him as a buffoon. The baron,  
 having one day asked for an augmentation of his salary, the  
 king sent him a bushel of oats, which he directed to be  
 thrown over his chamber.

*The*

*The Congé, or Leave for Departure, expedited to Baron de Poelnitz, on his Retreat from Berlin in 1744.*

“ We, Frederick, &c. ——— make known, by these  
 “ presents, that baron de Poelnitz, a native of Berlin, and,  
 “ as far as we know, born of honest parents, gentleman of  
 “ the chamber of our late grandfather, of glorious memory;  
 “ as also in the service of the dukes of Orleans, in the same  
 “ quality, colonel in the service of Spain, captain of cavalry  
 “ in the army of the late emperor, *camérier* of the pope,  
 “ chamberlain of the duke of Brunswick, ensign in the ser-  
 “ vice of the duke of Weimar, chamberlain in that of our  
 “ late father, of sacred memory; and, in the last place,  
 “ grand master of the ceremonies in ours; finding himself  
 “ deluged and hurried away by a torrent of the most honour-  
 “ able military employments, and most eminent offices of  
 “ the court, which have successively showered upon his  
 “ person; tired of the world, and led astray by the bad ex-  
 “ ample of the new chamberlain Montaulieu, who, a short  
 “ time before him, has deserted from the court; the said ba-  
 “ ron de Poelnitz has paid his court to us, and very humbly  
 “ supplicated us to grant him, as a favour, an honourable  
 “ leave of departure, for the maintenance of his fair repu-  
 “ tation and renown.

“ Acquiescing, therefore, to his request, and not thinking  
 “ proper to refuse the testimony which he requires from us  
 “ to his good conduct, considering the important services  
 “ which he has rendered our royal court *by his pleassinties*,  
 “ and the amusement which he procured our deceased father  
 “ for the space of nine years, we could not hinder our-  
 “ selves from declaring, to the glory of the said baron, and  
 “ do hereby declare, that, during the whole time which he  
 “ spent in our service, he was *neither a highway-robber, a*  
 “ *cut-purse, nor a poisoner; that he has neither violated nor ra-*  
 “ *wished young damsels, nor been guilty of gross calumny, nor*

“ in



“in the smallest degree injured the reputation of any person  
 “whatsoever at our court; but has always conducted him-  
 “self as became a gallant man, and suitable to his origin;  
 “having never made any but a fair use of the talents ac-  
 “corded him by Heaven, to attain the object of the theatre,  
 “which is to represent agreeably and facetiously the ridicule  
 “of mankind, in order to correct them by the same.

“In like manner, he has always very sincerely followed  
 “the counsel of Bacchus with respect to moderation and so-  
 “briety, and carried Christian charity so far as to make even  
 “the *peasants* practise the maxim of the Gospel, *it is better*  
 “*to give than to receive*. He perfectly possesses, likewise, the  
 “anecdotes of our palaces and country-houses, and especially  
 “the list of our old furniture; and in other respects, by his  
 “merit, he knew how to make himself useful and service-  
 “able in the midst of those *who were acquainted with the mis-*  
 “*chievousness of his soul, and the indifference of his heart*.

“We bear witness, likewise, for the said baron, that he  
 “has never made us angry, except when his importunity,  
 “overstepping all the bounds of respect, attempted to pro-  
 “fane and dishonour the ashes of our glorious ancestors in a  
 “manner equally unworthy and insupportable.

“But, as, in the most beautiful countries, we sometimes  
 “meet with barren and uncultivated spots, as the handsomest  
 “bodies are not without their deformities, and the paintings  
 “of the greatest masters have their defects, it is our plea-  
 “sure to pardon the said baron his faults and deficiencies;  
 “and we grant him, by these presents, though with regret,  
 “the leave of departure which he has solicited; willing over  
 “and above to abolish, as we do hereby totally abolish, the  
 “post occupied by him, that its memory may for ever be  
 “effaced amongst mankind; not deeming it possible that the  
 “said employment should be properly filled after the said  
 “baron.

“Given at Potsdam, the 1st of April, 1744.”

(111) *Letters*

(111) *Letters from Frederick II. to the Countess de Camas, formerly Grand Mistress of the Court of the late Queen Dowager.*

“Neustadt, 11 November, 1760.

“I am exact in answering your letter, and anxious to satisfy you. It is singular how age marks itself. For the last four years I have renounced suppers as incompatible with the profession I am obliged to follow; and, on marching days, my dinner consists of a dish of chocolate. We have flown, like madmen, puffed up with our victory, trying whether we could not chase the Austrians from Dresden; but they laughed at us from the top of their mountains, and I returned on my steps like a little boy, to hide myself for spite in one of the most detestable villages of all Saxony. At present, we must drive from Freyberg and Chemnitz, Messieurs of the Circles, in order to get a living and a resting place.

“This is, I vow to you, a confounded life, such as no person has ever led, except Don Quixotte and myself. All this bustle, all this confusion, which never finishes, has made me so old that you would hardly know me. On the right side of my head, my hair has become entirely grey; my teeth are breaking and fall out. I have a visage as wrinkled as the furbelows of a petticoat, and a back bent like a monk of La Trappe. I apprise you of all this, to the end that, if ever we should meet together in flesh and blood, you may not be too much shocked at my appearance. Nothing remains for me but the heart which is not changed, and which will preserve, as long as I shall breathe, the sentiments of esteem and tender friendship. Adieu.”

“27 November.

“You see, my good mama, with what activity you are served. Herewith you have the snuff. We are fixing here our winter quarters. I have a little excursion to make,

"make, and then I shall go in search of tranquillity at  
 "Leipfic, if it is to be found there. But, with respect to  
 "myself, it is but a metaphysical word without reality.  
 "Between ourselves, my good mama, the life we lead is  
 "abominable, but we must make the best of a bad bargain.

"Adieu, my every thing that is excellent ! Do not for-  
 "get me ; you would be greatly in the wrong ; for no per-  
 "son loves and respects you more than I do."

" 3 December.

"Indeed, my good mama, you are very expert, and I  
 "congratulate you on your being so knowing in *the dropsy*.  
 "The adventure that has just happened is nothing but what  
 "is common. Not a convent exists where similar accidents  
 "do not occur. For my own part, I make every allow-  
 "ance for the weaknesses of our species ; and am not for  
 "stoning to death maids of honour who bring forth children.  
 "They perpetuate the human race, whereas these savage  
 "politicians destroy it by their fatal wars. I own to you,  
 "that I prefer too amorous constitutions, to those dragons  
 "of chastity who tear in pieces their fellow-creatures, or  
 "those meddling women, infinitely more mischievous and  
 "malevolent at bottom. Let the child be well brought up,  
 "and do not prostitute a whole family ; but take care that  
 "the poor girl leaves the court without scandal, by paying  
 "as much attention as possible to her reputation.

"We have peace, my good mama ; and I propose joining  
 "with you in hearty laughter when I have the pleasure of  
 "seeing you. Adieu, good mama. I embrace you."

" Meissen, 20th of December.

"I send you, my good mama, a trifle, for the purpose of  
 "preserving myself in your thoughts. You may make use  
 "of this snuff-box either for your paint, your patches, your  
 "snuff, your comfits, or your pills ; but to whatever purpose  
 "you



" you may set it apart, think at least, on seeing this dog,  
 " that emblem of fidelity, that he who sends it you surpasses  
 " in attachment the fidelity of all the dogs in the universe,  
 " and that his devotion for your person has nothing of the  
 " fragility of the substance that is manufactured here. I  
 " have ordered porcelain for every one; for Schœnhausen, for  
 " my sisters-in-law: in a word, I am at present rich only  
 " in this fragile composition. I hope that those who receive  
 " it will take it as good cash: for we are beggars, my good  
 " mama; nothing is left us but our honour, the coif, the  
 " sword, and a little porcelain.

" Adieu, my dear and good mama! Please Heaven, I  
 " shall again behold you face to face, and repeat what I have  
 " said by word of mouth; but let me do what I will, I shall  
 " express but very imperfectly all which my heart thinks re-  
 " specting you."

" Head Quarters at Retlem, 8th of June, 1762.

" I am thoroughly persuaded, my good mama, of the sin-  
 " cere part you take in all the favourable events that happen  
 " to us. The mischief is, that we have been reduced so low,  
 " that all sorts of fortunate events are necessary to raise us  
 " up; and two great peaces, which might restore tran-  
 " quillity any where else, offer, at this moment, but a pre-  
 " parative for finishing the war less unfortunately.

" I wish, with all my heart, that Heaven may preserve  
 " you till I can have the joy of seeing, hearing, and em-  
 " bracing you. From all appearances, you may, once more,  
 " become, in a short time, tranquil and peaceable inhabi-  
 " tants of Berlin. As for us, we must continue fighting  
 " till the very extinction of natural heat. All this, however,  
 " must have an end; and the only agreeable prospect I have  
 " in peace, is to assure you, by word of mouth, of the con-  
 " sideration and esteem with which I am, my good mama,  
 " your faithful friend."

" 27th

" 27th of June.  
 " I rejoice, my good mama, at your having so much courage; and earnestly exhort you to redouble it. Every thing has an end; accordingly we must hope that this perplexing war will not be the only everlasting matter in this world. Since death has carried off a certain female miscreant of the hyperborean climates, our situation has taken an advantageous turn, and becomes much more supportable than it was. It is to be hoped that some other good events will start up, of which we may avail ourselves, to procure a favourable peace.

" You talk to me of Berlin. I wish much to know that you are all there together. Yet, if you do go, I would not that it should be like birds perched on a branch, but that you might remain there with becoming dignity. For this reason, I wait the moment when I shall think this security established on solid foundations, and advise you, by letter, to return thither. If all this finishes honourably and well, how I shall bless Heaven, my good mama, at seeing and embracing you! Yes, I say embracing you, for you have no other lover in the world but me. You cannot make me jealous; and I have a right to exact a kiss as a reward for the constancy and attachment I have for you. You may prepare yourself to receive it. Fiette \* may say what she will of it, she may pine away for spite; for, since her deceased duke, she has had no kisser.

" Adieu, my good mama! Pardon the trifling puerilities in this letter: it is because I am alone, that I sometimes forget my troubles, that I love you, and profit by the pleasure of the correspondence."

" Peterstalde, 29th of October, 1762.

" I could wish to take a fortress every day, my good mama, to receive your amiable letters. But, some of my foolish

\* A favourite little bitch.

“commandants often lose them in a shameful manner; and  
 “when I have emperors who wish me well. . . . .  
 “After this, judge of the charming situation in which I find  
 “myself. Did our emperor still live, we should have had  
 “peace this winter, and you might make a fair jump into  
 “your sandy paradise of Berlin. But the public, who flat-  
 “ter themselves, imagined that peace would follow the  
 “taking of Schweidnitz. You may possibly have hoped,  
 “too, that this would be the case; but, as far as I can see,  
 “I do assure you, that our enemies have as yet no desire for  
 “accommodation. Judge from this, if it would be prudent  
 “to return to Berlin, with the risk of again flying to Spandau  
 “on the first alarm.

“You speak to me of poor Finette; alas! my good  
 “mama, for six years past I no longer lament the dead,  
 “but the living. This is a most wretched life we lead, and  
 “unworthy of regret. I wish you much patience, my good  
 “mama, and all the prosperity of which these times of ca-  
 “lamity are susceptible; above all, that you may preserve  
 “your good humour, the greatest and most substantial trea-  
 “sure that nature can bestow on us. As for me, my an-  
 “cient friendship, and the esteem I have vowed for you,  
 “will for ever remain inviolable. Of this I am sure you  
 “are persuaded. Adieu, my good mama!”

“Leipfic, 22d of January, 1763.

“One and fifty years, my good mama, are no trifle.  
 “This is almost the extent of madam Clotho’s spindle,  
 “who weaves all our destinies. I thank you for interesting  
 “yourself in my having attained that point. You take a  
 “part in the welfare of an old friend, of a servant whose  
 “sentiments neither age nor absence can ever change, and

\* Here was an allusion to the death of Peter, the late emperor  
 of Russia, which the author has suppressed.—TRANSLATOR.

“who



"who, at present, hopes, with a sort of confidence, soon  
 "again to see and embrace you, if you will permit him.  
 "Yes, my good mama, I think (to speak poetically) that you  
 "will be at Berlin before Flora embellishes the earth with  
 "her gifts; and, if I really rejoice at the idea of seeing any  
 "person in the capital, it is you; but, say nothing of that.  
 "This is not poetical, and must be literally understood.  
 "May Heaven watch over your days, and cover you with  
 "benedictions in proportion to your virtue! May I once  
 "more behold you in good health, content, and satisfied;  
 "and may you always preserve for me your friendship! I  
 "only merit it, my good mama, by the inviolable attach-  
 "ment I bear you, and which I shall retain to the moment  
 "that the fatal Sister shall cut the thread."

"Dahlen, 6th of March, 1763.

"I shall again see you, then, my good mama, and I hope  
 "that it will be towards the end of this month, or the be-  
 "ginning of April, when I shall rejoice in finding you as  
 "well as when I left you. As for myself, you will find me  
 "an old man, and almost a dotard, as grey as my asses,  
 "losing every day a tooth, and being half lamed by the  
 "gout. But, your indulgence will support the infirmities  
 "of age, and we will talk together of old times.

"Our good margrave of Bareuth is just dead, which  
 "gives me real pain. We lose our friends, and our enemies  
 "seem inclined to last during an eternity. Ah! my good  
 "mama, how I dread Berlin, and the chasms I shall find in  
 "it! but I must only think of you, and treat the rest as an  
 "illusion. Be persuaded of the pleasure I shall have in per-  
 "sonally assuring you of the real esteem and friendship I shall  
 "preserve for you until I drop into the grave."

"2d of June, 1763.

"My good mama, your letter, and your recollection,  
 "have given me real pleasure, as they are proofs of your  
 Vol. II. F f "health

“ health being better. I am assured that there is no danger,  
“ and that you will soon be perfectly restored. My sister  
“ will arrive here in an hour hence, which I own to you  
“ gives me great joy. Try, my good mama, to get out  
“ into the air. It is the sovereign medicine; it will em-  
“ balm your blood, and entirely cure you; an event in  
“ which I interest myself sincerely. You know my old  
“ heart, which is always the same, and formed to love you  
“ as long as it shall exist. Adieu, my good mama! Take  
“ care to get well soon, and do not forget me.

“ I shall shew your letter, my good mama, to my sister,  
“ who will be charmed at what you think of her. I regret,  
“ indeed, the not being able to enjoy your presence here.  
“ I am of opinion that you have good reason to take care of  
“ yourself, and the truth is, that I could but little profit  
“ here by your amiable company; for, we are, as in a ge-  
“ neral diet of the holy Roman empire, environed by thirty  
“ princes and princesses, besides that my infirmities prevent  
“ me from assisting at all the banquets. I appear, however,  
“ at the great solemnities, and endeavour to take some repose  
“ in the intervals. The old baron insults my gouty legs.  
“ He has had a race with prince Frederick, and contended  
“ who should be the first. As for me, who hobble along  
“ like a tortoise, I look at the rapidity of their course as  
“ a paralytic assisting at the dance of Saint Denis.

“ Good night, my good mama! I hope to see you when  
“ my legs return, and I am able to climb up the stairs of the  
“ palace which lead to your paradise. I am, for ever, the  
“ most ancient of your adorers.

“ FREDERICK.”

(112) *Conversation between Frederick II. and Gellert.*

*The King.* You are professor Gellert?

*Gellert.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* The English envoy has spoken very much to me in your favour. Of what country are you?

*Gellert.* Of Hainichen, near Freybourg.

*The King.* Have not you a brother at Freybourg?

*Gellert.* Yes, sire.

*The King.* Tell me, why we have not good German writers?

*Major Quintus.* Your majesty has one before you. Even the French have translated him. They call him the La Fontaine of the Germans.

*The King.* That is going very far. Have you read La Fontaine?

*Gellert.* Yes, sire; but I have not imitated him. I have adhered more to originality.

*The King.* Good, here's an original. But why have we not several?

*Gellert.* Your majesty is prejudiced against the Germans.

*The King.* Oh! no! not altogether.

*Gellert.* At least against the writers.

*The King.* That is true. Why have not we good historians?

*Gellert.* And so we have. We have Mascow, and Cramer, who has continued Bossuet.

*The King.* A German continue Bossuet! Is that possible?

*Gellert.* Yes, and even successfully. One of your majesty's most learned professors declares that he has continued him with as much eloquence, and more historical accuracy.

*The King.* Was he a competent judge?

*Gellert.* So it is thought, at least.

*The King.* But, why do not they translate Tacitus? Such a work they ought to undertake.

*Gellert.* Tacitus is difficult to translate. Even the French translations of that author are bad.

*The King.* Yes, that is true.

*Gellert.* Besides, there are several reasons why the Germans have not yet distinguished themselves in every branch of literature:



ture: the arts and sciences flourished among the Greeks, when the Romans were still employed in war. This, perhaps, is what happens at this day in Germany. It is possible that we only want an Augustus or a Louis XIV.

*The King.* But you have had two Augustuses in Saxony?

*Gellert.* Accordingly, Saxony has begun to make some progress.

*The King.* Would you have an Augustus for all Germany? Did you never go out of Saxony?

*Gellert.* I was, once, at Berlin.

*The King.* You should travel.

*Gellert.* Health and fortune are necessary for such a purpose.

*The King.* What disorder have you? Perhaps, it is that of all literary men.

*Gellert.* Yes, fire.

*The King.* I had it, also. I'll cure you. You must use exercise, get on horseback every day, and take rhubarb once a week.

*Gellert.* These remedies might render me still worse. If the horse were too spirited, I could not mount him; if he were sick, I could not make him go on.

*The King.* Well then! ride in a carriage.

*Gellert.* How am I to find the means!

*The King.* That's true. This is what is always wanting to the German literati. Are not the times distressful?

*Gellert.* Oh! yes, fire! It were to be wished that your majesty would give peace to Germany!

*The King.* How is that to be done? Do you not know that there are three against me?

*Gellert.* I know ancient better than modern history.

*The King.* Which do you prefer, Homer or Virgil?

*Gellert.* Homer is original.

*The King.* But, Virgil is more polished.

*Gellert.* We are too far removed from the age of Homer

to form a sound judgment of his language and his manners. I refer to Quintilian, who prefers Homer.

*The King.* We must not be slaves to the judgment of the ancients.

*Gellert.* Nor am I such a slave: I only refer to them, when the remoteness of periods prevents me from judging for myself.

*Major Quintus.* M. Gellert, has, also, written German letters.

*The King.* Have you written, likewise, against the style of the bar?

*Gellert.* Yes, sire!

*The King.* But, why do not they change it? It is the very devil; they bring me whole sheets of which I do not understand a word.

*Gellert.* How should I change it, then, if your majesty cannot? You can give orders; I have nothing to come forward with, except advice.

*The King.* Can you repeat one of your fables by heart?

*Gellert.* I am afraid not.

*The King.* Think a little. In the interim, I will take a few turns.—Well! do you recollect one?

*Gellert.* Yes, sire.

#### THE PAINTER. *A fable.*

A painter of Athens, who worked less for money than for honour, shewed a picture of Mars to a connoisseur, and desired his opinion. "I will tell you freely," answered the connoisseur, "that I find a fault in it. Art is too apparent." The painter produces many reasons in his defence. They dispute, and the artist persists in his vindication. In the mean time a young coxcomb enters. On the very first glance at the picture, he exclaims, "Gracious heaven! what a master-piece! how admirably this foot is formed! with

“ what art are the nails expressed ! the helmet ! the shield !  
 “ the armour ! What amazing execution pervades the whole !  
 “ It is Mars himself ! he breathes ! ” At these words, the painter, blushing and confused, turns to the connoisseur :  
 “ Now,” says he, “ I discover that you are in the right ; ” and, as soon as the coxcomb departed, he effaced his picture.

*The King.* And the moral ?

*Gellert.* Here it is :

“ Should the connoisseur blame thy writings, it is a bad sign ; but if a coxcomb commends, obliterate them *directly*.”

*The King.* That is pretty, very pretty ! You have a certain elegance ! I comprehend it perfectly ; but, Gottsched shewed me a translation of *Iphigénie*, not a word of which I comprehended. They have, also, put into my hands some poetry of a Mr. Pietsch ; but, I threw it aside.

*Gellert.* I did the same.

*The King.* If I remain here, come, often, to see me, and bring your fables : you shall read me some of them.

*Gellert.* I do not know whether I read well ; I am addicted to such a singing, such a provincial tone.

*The King.* Ay, like the Silesians : but you must read them yourself ; they would lose much of their beauty without this assistance.—Let us go—Return soon.

Yet, even after all this, Gellert never went near the king, neither did the latter again send for him. When Gellert was gone, the king observed to his officers, “ You may discover “ a difference between this man and Gottsched : ” and the next day, at table, he said, “ This is the most reasonable of “ all the German literati.”

(113) The following letter from Frederick to Jordan, in 1743, is descriptive of the manner in which this prince amused himself with the members of his familiar society. A turner, conceiving that he could save the king much money by

sub-



substituting wooden cannon in the place of those which he made use of, desired Jordan to present an account of his project to the king; and Jordan, with great simplicity, complied. Frederick answered thus:

Whilst *you* of wooden cannon dream,  
 Let *Astrolabes* be Colin's theme.  
 Whilst *He* explores a Newton's curve,  
 I from my songs shall never swerve;  
 But, gaily, strike poetic fires  
 From Grecian and Arabian lyres.  
 Each to his sphere regard must pay.  
 Believe me! 'tis the wisest way:  
 And he may well rejoice at heart,  
 Who, as he ought, performs his part.

"I do not say that you are not an excellent scribe, a library atlas, a jovial philosopher, a terrible Grecian, a gallant endowed with all the qualities possessed by the defunct as of Lucian; I modestly confine myself to maintaining that you are not a Melidor in artillery. In reading your letter, I thought I should have died with laughing. A turner offers to make cannon, and addresses himself to Jordan. Take my advice, my friend; communicate this secret to no person. Set the artist to work for your own arsenal, and, on the first literary dispute you get involved in, turn your heavy artillery against your adversary, and cry out to him, *Ultima ratio Jordani*.

"I have been here some days, where I see nothing but ramparts, hear nothing but musquets, take my walk only in mines, and breathe nothing but sulphur. What can you expect from me, then, but a very martial letter? Yet I still hope to find less turbulent pleasures for you at Berlin, and to sup gaily there, between *Mæcenæ* Jordan and *Pollionæ* Cæsarion. Adieu, my friend! Take time by the forelock; for, he flies."

We might cite, also, several of his letters to Voltaire and others; but the following anecdotes will give some idea of his pleasantries.

A woman singer of his opera, who was a great favourite, made her escape, in order to return to Italy. The persons sent after her by Frederick came up with her on the frontiers of Tyrol, and Maria-Theresa, who was then living, made no difficulty in restoring her. She was brought back to Potsdam, and conducted into the king's chamber, who said to her, "*Madam, why have you quitted me?*" The poor woman, half dead with fright, could not answer a single word, but threw herself at the king's feet. "*Do not be afraid,*" observed Frederick, "*I only wished to bid you adieu. Now you may go where you will.*"

The Jews once demanding the king's permission to wear a sword, "*With all my heart,*" replied he, "*on condition of their wearing it on the right side.*"

A young student of divinity, who had but just quitted the university, presenting himself to the king for a place of importance then vacant, Frederick wrote at the bottom of his request, "*Hold you unto Jericho, until your beard be come, and then you shall return.*"

A rich ecclesiastic asked the king for a considerable tract of land for the purpose of settling colonists, offering to make them labour under his own inspection. At the back of his petition, Frederick wrote,

Through various lands Saint Paul the gospel taught;  
But, of colonization never thought.

The reader will find many other strokes of Frederick's pleasantry in the anecdotes collected at the end of this volume.

(114) We shall see that he encouraged the jokes made upon them, and even furnished the plan of a work criticising their memoirs. When he sent for them, it was frequently to laugh at their expence. He called one his Montesquieu; another, his D'Alembert; a third, his Fontenelle; for which the honest academicians made profound reverences, and repeated these fine compliments on their return to Berlin: while he was laughing within himself at their credulity, and applauding his own address in playing them off.

(115) Frederick had spies for every class of citizens. His generals gave him an account of the adventures of the military; his friends the wits made him laugh at the expence of ministers, counsellors, and academicians; and his laqueys, valets de chambre, and academicians, at that of other individuals. The latter, especially, gave him an account of literary news, and decided, in a curious manner, on works and authors. Every person a little acquainted with the secret anecdotes of Berlin, knows that an academician was often introduced, during the night, into the king's chamber, by a private stair-case. His department was the royal family, and he gave the king an account of every thing that did or did not pass. On seeing the king not likely to live, he thought it prudent to demand permission to retire, which he obtained. In leaving the country he boasted of the part he had played under Frederick, and expressed his apprehensions of being severely treated by his successor.

(116) The abbé Pernetti was an Ex-Benedictine. He had written a work on physiognomies, which induced Frederick to invite him into his service. He has translated *Schwédenbourg's mystic Reveries* into French.

(117) Towards the last years of Frederick's reign, a Frenchman, employed in his service, thought proper to demand



mand permission to withdraw, and obtained it; but, not meeting with the success he looked for in France, he shortly after wrote to the king, begging to be reinstated; but Frederick, who did not like to be trifled with, let him remain at Paris.

There is a man *in the post-office* of a town in Switzerland, who was an academician at Berlin; nor does he fail to assume some consequence, by making a parade of this brilliant title. A wit one day said to him, "You have not greatly changed conditions; *you were formerly a man of letters, and now you are a man WITH letters.*"

Another Swiss academician of Berlin stood candidate for the place of a sort of *macebearer*, who wears the livery of the state in his little republic, but, not succeeding, was obliged to remain at Berlin. Several others are in great want.

(118) The perpetual secretary, Monsieur W..... whom Frederick pleasantly called the Montesquieu of Germany, and B..... who merited more indulgence, are criticised in this pamphlet.

(119) Frederick took the opportunity of a work entitled "The Rural Nights," sent him by the author, to answer him as follows:

"Your "Rural Nights" have been well received, and I thank you for the copy you have sent me. But I should wish that as a good grammarian you would employ your leisure in a work calculated to avoid and correct the defects of the French style, which appears daily to degenerate and fall off from that purity which constitutes its chief ornament, &c.

"FREDERICK.

"Potzdam, 30th of September, 1783."

The

The next day the author received the following plan in the king's own writing:

"I could wish that rules for style were given by way of analysis, beginning by ideas, shewing how they are formed and combined together.

"From ideas you should pass to the decomposition of periods and phrases, and shew how their different parts act upon each other.

"When you shall have given several exercises of this nature, on ideas and periods, it will be much easier to seize the rules of style and composition, as the progress would then be from the known to the unknown.

"In order to render this work complete, and proper to correct the bad style which has introduced itself among some of the writers of the French colony, and into *the memoirs of the academy*, you must strictly investigate all the new productions, assigning its merits to each of them, *without excepting any one*.

"This, in my opinion, will be the best method of rectifying the style of *these gentlemen*, which every day degenerates more and more.

"FREDERICK."

The author extended the king's plan, and, having sent him the first sheets of his work, received the following answer:

"The king is highly satisfied with the first number of the theoretical and practical course of the French language and literature, addressed to him by professor de Laveaux. However vast the plan of this periodical work may be, his majesty applauds it, &c.

"FREDERICK.

"Berlin, 29th of December, 1783."

All the numbers of this work were received with equal approbation. The king added, on receiving the fourth number,

ber, " *It only remains to be wished that this work may contribute to hinder the decline of a language, which, after becoming universal in Europe, well deserves to be carried to the degree of perfection of which it is susceptible;*" and, on receiving the 7th number, he wrote as follows, " *It is to be wished that your labours may contribute to purify the French style so greatly neglected in our days.*"

Attempts being made to harass the author by censures, it was reported that he intended discontinuing the publication, on which the king wrote to him, thus:

" You do well to continue your theoretical and practical course of the French language and literature. I found your third number with your letter of yesterday. I thank you for this attention, and pray God, &c. &c.

" FREDERICK.

" Potsdam, 9th of July, 1784."

Since the death of Frederick, the author has thought proper to decline a work which created him so many enemies.

(120) *Letter from M. Merian, Director of the Class of Belles Lettres of the Academy of Berlin, to Professor de Laveaux.*

" SIR,

" The king desires you to examine, as far as concerns the language and style, the work annexed, and orders me to report to him the result of your examination: which I shall do very faithfully, and in such a way as you yourself shall dictate. . . I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, &c.

" MERIAN.

" Berlin, 8th of January, 1785."

(121) The memoir of the minister criticised by the king's order, was read to the academy in 1784. The year following,



ing, the minister, in speaking of this criticism, in his new memoir, said, "*I have been justified by all unprejudiced persons in a satisfactory manner, both with respect to style and substance.*" yet, in the last volume of the new memoirs of the academy, this memoir has been reprinted, and every fault, pointed out by professor de Laveaux, corrected.—[See new Memoirs of the Academy of 1782, quarto, pages 435, &c. and compare them with the same memoir in octavo, printed by Decker in 1784.]

(122) On the 20th of April, 1784, the chamber of justice sentenced an academician, a Frenchman by birth, to a fine and honorary indemnification towards a man who was his associate in a soap manufactory, for having treated his partner as a *malotru* and *coquin* (low miscreant), and the chamber, in assigning their reasons for this judgment, declare that they can pay no attention to the explication of these terms as given by the academician, but adhere to the definition of the dictionary of the French academy, which says, at the word *malotru*, "It is a term of injury and contempt, by which is meant to be signified, at the same time, a miserable person, a sloven, ill-made, ill-built; and, at the word *coquin*, that it is synonymous with *knave*, *rascal*, *an infamous fellow*, *a coward*, &c. &c."

(123) A contestation of civility took place between the emperor and the king, on the point of precedence. The emperor wanted Frederick to go first, and the latter turning about to do the honours to the emperor, Joseph took the lead, saying, "*O! sire! if you begin to manœuvre, I must give way to you, and go where you think proper.*"

(124) This satirical romance was not submitted to the censor, notwithstanding the established law; and the censor, who did not chuse to relinquish his rights, was probably the person

person who stirred up this affair. When the work was presented to him for a second impression, he read it, and replied, that, so far from finding any thing to retrench, he considered it as an ingenious satire on the manners of the age. This stroke does not ill paint the degree to which the liberty of the press was carried at Berlin. Frederick often declared, that it was his intention to tolerate a perfect liberty of thinking and writing in his dominions. If there were some exceptions, they only respected politics, and a few individuals whom he wished not to have persecuted. It is recorded that a foreign bookseller transmitted to him one day a manuscript satire against himself, leaving it to his option to suppress it, in hopes of being rewarded for his zeal; but Frederick sent for a bookseller of Berlin, saying to him, "*There, print this; great advantages may be made by it.*"

When professor de Laveaux saw the king very ill, apprehending that he might one day be called upon to pay the reckoning for the bottle of champagne, he prudently retired to Stougard.

(125) *Letter from M. de Voltaire to the King of Prussia.*

" Ferney, 1st of February, 1773.

" SIRE,

" I have thanked you for your porcelain: the king, my  
 " master, has not handfomer, nor has he sent me any.  
 " But I am still more thankful for what you take from me,  
 " than grateful for what you give me. You cut off from  
 " me, by a stroke of the pen, nine years, in your last letter.  
 " Never did our comptroller-general of finances operate a  
 " greater change. Your majesty is so good as to pay me a  
 " compliment on my seventieth year. Thus are kings al-  
 " ways imposed upon. I am seventy-nine, with your per-  
 " mission, and very soon eighty. I shall not, therefore, see  
 " what I have so passionately wished, *the destruction of these*  
 " villainous

"villainous Turks, who shut up our women, and do not  
"cultivate the fine arts.

"You will not, then, replace Thiriot, your coffee-house  
"historiographer? He acquitted himself wonderfully well of  
"this employment; he knew by heart the few good verses  
"and the infinite number of bad ones circulated in Paris.  
"He was a man very necessary to the state.

Poor Paris, now, no more supplies  
Her literary merchandise.  
Renounc'd is ev'ry learned name;  
Each brilliant work of endless fame.  
Books, Almanacs and Mercuries rise  
In vain to meet a reader's eyes.  
Aside are folios, pamphlets tost,  
And in *your* mind their value's lost!  
Can my discerning friend explain  
Why such indifference should reign?  
Alas! You fear each prosp'rous time  
Has flown, for good, from Gallia's clime;  
And that our ancient riches yield  
To Want their now deserted field.  
Yet, Learn our talents more to prize!  
View the rich source from whence they rise!  
Behold us opulent and great!  
(*Extravagance* can funds create)  
I entertain no sanguine hope  
That Abbé Savatier, whose scope  
Of eloquence, sublime and bright,  
At once brings succour and delight,  
Can teach us nobly to aspire,  
Or even draw us from the mire,  
In which, by shoals of scribblers cast,  
We tofs and flounder, to the last.  
Taste vanishes, and Sameness palls.  
The mind for varying pleasures calls.

We,



We, for Melpomene, afford  
 Some ill-compacted bits of board,  
 Which, *meant at least* to form a stage,  
 Revive not the Athenian age.  
 To criticise, we still persist;  
 Nor e'er from printing can desist.  
 Tactics, conjoin'd with Music's art,  
 From the amphibious presses start.  
 We learn, 'midst thoughts upon finance,  
 How well an Op'ra girl can dance.  
 Th' Academy Provincial tries  
 To make the World by *method* wise;  
 And *calculates* the means to find  
 For stamping Genius on the mind.  
 An Author, shortly, will produce  
 The hist'ry (fam'd for depth and use)  
 Of Apes who, at the fairs, make sport;  
 And Apes who play their tricks at court.  
 Perhaps, with *this*, where learning shines  
 Some force of ridicule combines,  
 Yet, where, in military pride  
 The Vistula brings up her tide,  
 I, multitudes, with pain, survey  
 Who never pass a time so gay."

(126) *Letter from Frederick to M. d'Alembert, after an illness.*

"For this once, my dear friend, I may bless my stars;  
 "and, if you love me, you have some reason to rejoice at  
 "my lucky escape from death. The gout has made fourteen  
 "vigorous attempts on me, and no small constancy and  
 "strength were necessary to resist so many attacks. I re-  
 "vive, in fine, for myself, my people, my friends, and a  
 "little, likewise, for the sciences; but I must tell you, that  
 "the wretched jumble which you sent to me . . . . .  
 "has absolutely disgusted me in the reading. I am old, and

"trifles

“trifles no longer become me. I love the solid, and, could  
 “I become young again, I would divorce myself from the  
 “French, and range on the side of the English and the  
 “Germans. I have seen many things, my dear D’Alembert;  
 “I have lived long enough to observe the soldiers of the Pope  
 “wear my uniform, the Jesuits chuse me for their general,  
 “and Voltaire write like an old woman. I have no news  
 “to give you. As a philosopher, you do not trouble your-  
 “self about politics, and my academy is too stupid to afford  
 “you any thing interesting. I have just declared fresh war  
 “with law-suits, and I should be prouder than Perseus, if,  
 “at the end of my career, I could destroy the cabal of that  
 “hundred-headed monster.

“You have a very good king, my dear D’Alembert, and  
 “I congratulate you on it with all my heart. A wise and  
 “virtuous king is more formidable than a prince who is en-  
 “dued only with courage. I hope to see you here next  
 “spring. I am, &c.”

As a proof that French literature did not merit the con-  
 tempt in which Frederick seemed to hold it, it still possessed  
 a D’Alembert. Frederick thought the memoirs of his aca-  
 demy contained only nonsense; what motive had he, then,  
 for changing in favour of the Germans, while he despised  
 his academy, which was in general composed of Germans?  
 Frederick was then old. If D’Alembert sent him *The*  
*Marriage of Figaro*, or other trifles of that nature, I can rea-  
 dily conceive that there was nothing amusing in them. But,  
 is a nation to be judged from such wretched productions?  
 I shall be answered, that all Paris crowded to this piece.  
 Very true; every person ran after “*The Beaten Parties pay*  
 “*the Scores*,” and *Jerom Pointu*. What must we conclude  
 from thence, but that there are certain circumstances, and  
 certain intrigues, that set all Paris in motion on one side  
 rather than the other. When we every day see the master-

pieces of Racine and Moliere, is it astonishing that we should sometimes go to laugh at puppet-shews? But, let us have a little patience; if taste be not totally lost among the French, these pieces will float upon the surface, they will not be forgotten; but if, in ten years time, you are asked, *What was Jerom Pointu*, and "*The Beaten Parties pay the Scores*," &c. &c.? conclude that the nation has not lost its taste, nor has it been corrupted. Nay, even at this moment, enquire of every man of letters and taste in France, what is their opinion of these modern productions.

(127) Were I to name here many of these members, they would appear as unknown as those of the self-created societies of little towns composed only of the mayor, the recorder, a reverend father of the Capuchins, and other literati of the same stamp. Frederick never admitted into his society what may be precisely denominated a man of genius. Poets were particularly excluded; nor can we quote a good verse made by an academician of Berlin who was not a foreign member.

(128) In several pamphlets M. de Hertzberg has given a very minute history of his correspondence with the king upon this subject:

"M. de Hertzberg again tried, during his residence at *Sans Souci*, to make the king read a small German work of M. Nicolai, *on the beautiful*.

"The king sent him back the little book, with this answer:

"This is more passable than what I read yesterday; but, in two pages, I have found two faults. The *brennende wangen* (burning cheeks) may take place with a man transported with rage, or overtaken with wine; but here it is a false epithet, by no means suited to a prince who is rejoicing. I am too sincere to applaud such faults.

"FREDERICK."

(129) This



(129) This may be seen in the letter from M. de Hertzberg to the king, printed in the pamphlet intitled *History of the Dissertation on German Literature*, published at Berlin in 1780, page 1.

(130) Many Germans have laughed at the vowels which the king wished to add to the terminations of the verbs in *m*, pretending that *sagena*, *gebena*, and *nehmena*, would be as ridiculous in German, as to substitute in French *sona* for *son*, *tona* for *ton*, *fonta* for *font*; for the nasal syllables are still more disagreeable in the French language than the terminations in *en* in the German. *On*, *mon*, *ton*, *son*, *en*, *an*, do not give us very musical tones. What, on the contrary, (say the Germans and foreigners who are well acquainted with their language,) can be softer than the terminations of *lieben*, *sagen*, *nehmen*, *geben*, and all the others of the same kind. Frederick observed one day to Gottsched, in speaking of the German, "What an intolerably hard word is that *nebenbubler*!" dwelling on the penultima. Gottsched replied, "What an agreeable word is *entendement*!" affecting to pronounce it through the nose.

Was the king right in holding up the style of Tacitus for a model, and in pretending, that, to avoid prolixity, the Germans should imitate authors *whose style is sententious*? Some Germans, who deserve to be placed among the learned men of the nation, maintain, that, were this the case, their authors would fall into *Scylla* by avoiding *Charybdis*. The sententious style (say they) is exactly what is the most condemned in that historian, and never will that style be admitted but in such works as the *Thoughts on Rochefoucault*. Precision and clearness are necessary in style, and Tacitus is frequently obscure.

Some time after the king's pamphlet made its appearance, a young Swiss, called Muller, who has written the history of his countrymen, intirely in the style of Tacitus, came to

Berlin, conceiving his fortune to be made. Frederick saw him two or three times, received his work, and suffered him to take his departure. He then repaired to Cassel, where the landgrave of Hesse made him a member of his academy.

(131) This singular man refused to lend the prince royal, for a few days, a manuscript of Froissart, which happened to be in a library under his direction, unless the prince would sign a note, promising to restore it *sine maculis et rasuris*. Another person of distinction, asking him to lend him the *Evangelia Apocripa*, Arletius sent back his note after writing under it, "You must spell it *Apocrypha*;" nor did he send the book till he had changed the *i* into a *y*.

(132) When Frederick conversed with Garve, the result was, that the surest method of facilitating the progress of knowledge and the sciences among the Germans would be by obliging youth to apply more to the reading of Greek and Latin authors, and, for that purpose, to have such books more ably translated. It was in one of these conversations that Frederick ordered this learned man to translate the *Offices of Cicero*, of which he acquitted himself with great success, adding learned notes, containing a complete exposition of the philosophy of the ancients.

(133) See the work intitled "The Man of Forty Crowns," under the head of *A good supper at M. André's*. It appears, from this passage, that M. Denina, who must then have been very young, had taken upon him to criticise the *Spirit of Laws*, and to manifest a violent hatred and prejudice against the French nation. This severe passage of Voltaire apparently rendered that hatred implacable, and he soon displayed it in his pamphlet.

(134) A few passages extracted from the critical letters of the

the abbé will shew us the motives which engendered this pamphlet. He says, in a letter to the marquis de Lucchesini, "I could wish that this work, "*The Vicissitudes of Literature*," new modelled and augmented as you have seen, "might have a success proportionate to the first sketch. I "was, at that time, far from possessing all the knowledge I "have since endeavoured to acquire; yet, would you believe "it, it is only from this little essay that I have had the honour "of being named in the Grand Diplomatic Dictionary, under "the word *Italy*. The History of the Revolutions of Italy, "nevertheless, had already appeared translated into French, "and been reported, with many commendations, in five or six "different French periodical works. . . . . The Revolutions "of Italy had much more connection with a diplomatic "dictionary than the "*Vicissitudes of Literature*." But the "article *Italy* was completed before the editor knew any thing "of a work respecting it. "*My battle is over*," said Vertot. "*How often have I reflected that the celebrity of authors greatly "depends on chance!*" We here discover that what hurts the abbé is, that chance has prevented him from becoming celebrated. In another place, he observes, speaking of the French, "These gentlemen, when they mention authors "who are not their own countrymen, always pass them "slightly by, after the remark that *He is not known*, or, *he "is only known in his own country*. Why do they force us to "perceive their ignorance by telling us so lightly, when so many "authors and artists are in question, that they are unknown." According to the abbé, the French are a set of ignorant men, because they do not know him. But what does he complain of? Has not Voltaire made him perfectly well known in the passage above alluded to? Another phrase, still better, expresses the abbé's motives: "*When I am asked what the French "have done to me, I am tempted to reply, in the name of other "nations, what an Athenian answered to Aristides, who asked "him, "What has Aristides done, that thou shouldst condemn*



"him to banishment?" "I do not like," rejoined the Athenian, "that he should be called *The Just*, in preference to every other person!" And further on, "Shall we consent to look on, and patiently suffer France alone to give her books to all the rest of Europe; that nothing but her language shall be spoken; that the literary productions of other nations shall have no currency nor reputation but in as much as they happen to be known in France, and some Frenchman ventures to translate them? What they say of themselves, and of other nations, is spread every where abroad, and what other nations say of them is known only in a few provinces."

This may suffice to give some idea of the spirit and judgment of this philosopher.

(135) The abbé says, in an advertisement, "If any circumstance may have concurred in giving me the notion of treating on this subject, I venture to assert that it is the conversation of a philosophic monarch, who appeared to me to have the same idea of Spain with that I had formed in composing my work on the *Vicissitudes of Literature*, &c."

(136) The persons of merit, in general, who assisted at this assembly, were shocked at the liberties which the abbé took with France. He sent his work to Frederick; but that prince, who usually replied to every thing in twenty-four hours, left his letter ten days without an answer, and, in this letter, mentioned only his work on the "*Vicissitudes of Literature*," which Denina had dedicated to him some time before. "*Your researches into the revolutions of literature*," observed Frederick, "*have already been so approved of by connoisseurs, as to promise you the same success in continuing them.*" A Gascon could not have given a better answer.

(137) We

(137) We cannot, however, take upon us to say as much of the comte de Hertzberg, to whom the abbé's pamphlets are dedicated; nor of M. Dohm, a German civilian; nor of the marquis de Lucchesini, an Italian, and a favourite of Frederick towards the end of his life; nor of some other Italians, to whom he addressed these letters: but we can assert it of the count d'Esterno, the count de Mirabeau, M. de Launay, and others, who expressed great dissatisfaction at seeing their names in this pamphlet.

(138) When the abbé Raynal came to Berlin, Frederick desired to see him, and revenged himself for a little stroke in a passage of the history of both the Indies, where he is not spared. The king talked to him of his history of the Stadtholderate, and of his historical memoirs, affecting not to say a word of his history of the Indies. The abbé, upon this occasion, said, "*Sire, I have written other works.*" "*I know nothing of them,*" replied Frederick, and spoke of something else. It is alledged, that the abbé would not have refused the place of president of the academy, if offered him; and Frederick was sounded on the subject, but he would not hear of the proposition. Besides that, it was at this moment that the conspiracy against French literature was in its full force, and the *Signori* soon set all their machines in motion with the king, now become an old man. Frederick wrote a letter to D'Alembert, wherein he says the handsomest things in the world of abbé Raynal; but in his little suppers he was treated as visionary and a declaimer.

During the abbé's residence at Berlin, an academician, who had familiar access to him, printed the most infamous satire against this respectable old man. Raynal said, one day, when speaking of these academicians, "*These fellows are not good enough to be correctors of the press.*"

(139) We know the nature of the challenge sent by

Maupertuis to Voltaire at Leipzig. He had it printed, with the following introduction, which Frederick approved and signed with his royal hand :

“ It has become necessary to publish this letter, which, in  
 “ the ordinary course of things, would have remained a  
 “ secret, as M. de Voltaire has circulated mutilated and im-  
 “ perfect extracts. M. de Voltaire declared, under his own  
 “ hand, that he had deposited this letter in the care of the  
 “ magistrates of Leipzig. It is surprising, that, in this affair,  
 “ *the poet* should have dared to address magistrates, whose pre-  
 “ sence must always be formidable to *libellists*.

“ *Seen and approved,*

“ FREDERICK.”

It is with pain we see the great Frederick become a party concerned in all these bickerings, and set his name to writings of this nature ; *after extolling this poet to the skies ; after making him correct his works ; after laughing at these pretended libels*, and himself venturing upon so many pleasantries, which may be called *libels*, if AKAKIA be a libel. Have kings, only, then, the exclusive privilege of laughing ?

(140) *Verses on the Existence of God, composed by Frederick a few Years before his Death.*

UNDE ?

UBI ?

QUO ?

*Whence come I ? Where am I ? Whither do I go ?*

Of *this* Montaigne does ignorance profess :  
 And, *here*, my want of knowledge is not less.  
 Consult the learned . . You consult in vain :  
 The darken'd maze they never can explain.  
 Can *I*, when philosophic efforts fail,  
 Expect to raise th' impenetrable veil ?  
*I*, who so late th' inhabitant of Earth,  
 Receiv'd (thus will'd *Necessity* ! ) my birth. . . .

This



This *Being*, then, of course, *exists*: was fram'd,  
As *now*, so from the *first*; and, sometimes, nam'd  
Matter; as often, *Spirit*. All agree,  
If not the one, it must the other be.  
Th' astonish'd and humiliated mind,  
'Midst errors, feels her faculties confin'd:  
And, yet, through will, perception, thought, She flows;  
Intent some end from action to propose.  
Can you believe that God, creating Man,  
HIMSELF all pow'r, could act without a plan?  
Or that Omniscience does not reside  
In HIM who *us* with knowledge has supplied?  
But, you observe, when plagues and wars are near,  
And physical and moral ills appear,  
When thirst and hunger, gout and stone, contend  
Which shall accelerate some Mortal's end,  
When hurricanes, with thunder, light'ning, hail,  
In dreadful union, blast where they assail,  
When earthquakes, with a depredating rage,  
Against a miserable land engage,  
When poisons kill, and the Volcano's fire  
Bursts, like the flames of Heav'n's avenging ire,  
"Are *these* the *gifts*, or, rather, *these* the *woes*,  
"Which, on his children, GOD so oft bestows?"...  
Ah! Cease th' ALMIGHTY's wisdom to impeach!  
These points are far beyond thy feeble reach!  
Proud Man! thy curiosity contain!  
Revolting Atom! all thy *search* is vain!  
The DEITY, that *this* might fruitless prove,  
Has fix'd a barrier which thou canst not move.  
Perhaps, to make the pride of reason shrink,  
Nor boast of pow'rs that, *once*, could *justly* think,  
(When, as they sought for op'ning gleams of light,  
Some rays of truth have darted on the sight)  
Millions of systems through their duties flow  
Which finite human minds must never know.

*Should*

*Should* the CREATOR to his *creature's* eyes  
 Bid theories of *all* his works arise ?  
 'Midst mental imbecillity, would *Man*  
 The operations of his MAKER scan ?  
 Inflam'd with arrogance atrocious, say  
 That HE *should* all his *secret* means display,  
 Left if HE fail'd each action to unfold,  
 We might not rev'rence those which we behold ?

From whence springs Evil ? Though *for ever* view'd,  
*For ever* does its cause the search elude.  
 What follows, *then* ? Alas ! my baffled mind  
 Remains within it's narrow sphere confin'd.  
 Who thinks blind *matter* is the *great first Cause*  
 Of these effects, a wild conclusion draws.  
*Absurdity's* inexplicable maze  
 Is all that, *here*, my reas'ning pow'r surveys.  
 Restrain'd to choice, which point shall I receive ?  
*Absurdity* what mortal can believe ?  
 I, only keep what's *difficult* in view ;  
 And leave the *whole absurdity* to you.

We shall present our readers with another copy of verses little known, composed by Frederick in his best days, and which are transcribed from the original, as they came out of the king's hands. They will enable the reader to judge of the actual nature, power and extent of the poetical talents of this prince.

*Epistle from Frederick II. to the Count de Hoditz, at Roswald.*

How strange, that, for the highest circles born,  
 You can desert the courts you *should* adorn !  
 Avoid their snares, though in the bloom of youth,  
 And seek, in shades, the avenues to truth !  
 Free from those errors which the herd beguile  
 At vulgar prejudice *you*, wisely, smile :

With

With laughter, mercenary fools behold,  
 Who, fondly, swell their useless heaps of gold :  
 Nor less, with pointed ridicule, deride  
 Those ideots who, the willing slaves of pride,  
 Enjoy the varying splendor of attire,  
 And, most of all, their lovely selves admire :  
 Or such as, martyrs to a restless mind,  
 Vain of their grandeur, and to schemes inclin'd,  
 Their misapplied abilities exhaust,  
 Whilst in th' ambitious toil success is lost.  
 Against the *present* still let these complain,  
 And from the *future* hope amends to gain :  
 Your prudence shall th' envenom'd draught refuse,  
 And the pure cup of virtuous reason chuse.

They reach the point who happiness obtain.  
 A wild chimera Pride pursues in vain.  
 Say, could it answer any godlike end,  
 If, forty years, permitted to attend,  
 Chief servant at the Turkish Sultan's side,  
 Who, as he dropt, or reassum'd the pride  
 Of state imperial, by *thee* was dress'd  
 In splendid robes and gaily-glitt'ring vest ;  
 By *thee*, Grand Chamberlain ! was unattir'd,  
 When to his lov'd Seraglio he retir'd ?  
 How *fine* near thrones and diadems to wait !  
 How *finer* far an *independent* State !  
 Thus, your premeditated choice secures  
 That blessed Freedom which no Pomp allures.

Without parade, to Nature close ally'd ;  
 Nor taking *Epicurus* for a guide,  
 Roswald, your heritage, before your eyes,  
 Shall, soon, a new Circæan palace rise.  
 This alter'd seat, once totally unknown,  
 Improv'd by *you*, is celebrated grown.  
 No more the dreary dungeon it appears,  
 Scarce bearable but for the weight of years.

Th' abode



Th' abode becomes divine. Th' astonish'd sight  
 A thousand variegated charms delight.  
 Could Tasso, or could Ariosto view  
 Such heav'nly scenes, they'd give the palm to *You*.

There, of enchantments the advancing state  
 Does prodigy on prodigy create.  
 All breathes ; all lives ; 'tis animation all !  
*Your* spells into existence beauties call !  
 Astonish'd, in the crystal springs, we see  
 The trace of an oracular decree.  
 Nature is glad *your* orders to obey,  
 And bends her fairest works beneath *your* sway.  
 Whilst walking, we the pleasing converse hold,  
 Some metamorphos'd form our eyes behold :  
 When Daphne, swifter than the bounding steed,  
 Almost outstrips Apollo's eager speed,  
 The baffled God, instead of *female* charms,  
 Enfolds the spreading laurel in his arms.  
 Rinaldo in Armida's courts I view :  
 And, here, the fabled Gods whom Ovid drew :  
 Diana, Pallas, and the Paphian Queen  
 With Pluto, Mars and Jupiter are seen.

These only living in poetic codes,  
 Have made your hallow'd groves their blest abodes,  
 And, in the Fanes your Genius has design'd  
 Their ancient, consecrated altars find.  
 Here, with the Worshippers, the Pontiffs join,  
 And lead the Victim to the blazing shrine ;  
 Brandish aloft the immolating knife,  
 And then, deprive the votive beast of life ;  
 Pray for good omens from the sacrifice,  
 Whilst the blood drops, and clouds of incense rise.  
 And, here, may unprophan'd each altar smoke !  
 Here, gorgeous Priests their Deities invoke !  
 What joy the shade of Symmachus would feel,  
 If 'midst those forms absurd of pious zeal

(The countless number of Devotion's games)  
Which man's credulity and craft proclaims,  
He, by your art to wonder-working prone,  
Could view the resurrection of his own !

Yet, pleas'd with fables, *Christian* You remain ;  
Nor give *True Faith* alarming cause of pain,  
Although a race of Pigmies you create. .  
When visiting this *Liliputian* State,  
I thought myself, by some strange magic hurl'd,  
With *Gulliver*, into a dwindled world.  
I seem'd a Giant, all my bulk increas'd,  
Typhœus, or Enceladus, at least.  
Towns by their systems of proportion rose,  
And not a Steeple soar'd above my nose.  
*Thus* Virgil's *Muse* an infant Carthage drew,  
Where to the work the busy thousands flew,  
And rear'd the wall, when Dido mark'd the spot.

For our delight more charms you still allot :  
Voices and instruments of sweetest sound,  
The pleasure changing, through the woods resound.  
Thus, most, when with varieties combin'd,  
Amusements prove seductive to the mind.  
Now, Operas, now Tragedies advance,  
Then Comedies ; next Pantomimes and dance.  
Alternate, each, with the contrasting scene  
Hides uniformity's disgusting mien.

Can I the Actresses forbear to name,  
Not Novices, though *Vestals* round the flame,  
Who, with a whole artillery of charms,  
Make Honour sink, a captive in their arms ?

In this *Seraglio* is the beauteous Band  
Who play their parts, obedient to command :  
True to their Sultan, they, with love and awe,  
Make both his pleasure and his will a law.

To *you*, dear *Hoditz*, is this *Sultan* known. . .  
 All these Elyfian mansions are his own.  
 Exhaustless and unwearied Genius ! . . . .

.....  
 Thus, all your days through prosp'rous moments glide,  
 With Loves and Joys still smiling at your side.

Within your gardens, when departing Eve  
 To Night, reluctant, does the sceptre leave,  
 The fable Queen, whilst Nature seeks repose,  
 O'er all her works th' impervious mantle throws.  
*You* speak ; and See ! the luminaries shine,  
 As radiance issues from a source divine !  
 Aloft in air the *Roswald* rockets fly,  
 And with their brilliant sparks adorn the sky.  
 Not more the car of Phaëton could blaze,  
 Than when *your* art a lucid world displays.

Yet, this attractive course is almost run :  
 With joy to close what was with joy begun,  
 From female bands, where *all* the Fair expect,  
 My Count ! my Friend ! has chosen to select  
 A Tendril of *fifteen* ! What matchless charms  
 Shall he enfold within his eager arms !  
 Could Phidias or Praxiteles have seen  
 Her lovely face and captivating mien,  
 They would have thought the nymph a form divine,  
 And knelt in adoration at her shrine !  
 Sure, if not *Venus*, *Pleasure* was her name !  
 Led by her folt'ring Graces, on She came,  
 In floods of ecstasy to pass the night,  
 And from her Lord receive, as She bestows, delight.  
 Sly Cupid laughs, whilst all her rivals say :  
 " How *fortunate* is She ! How *lucky* ! They !

'Tis hard, when whole *Seraglios*, wishful, gaze,  
 The choice to make, yet no dissensions raise !



Like Venus, Juno and Minerva, *All*  
 With equal reason, for the *Apple* call.  
 The wisest King a thousand Beauties serv'd :  
*His* pow'rs were wond'rous, if, in *force* preserv'd,  
 He gave to *Each* th' embrace which *Each* deserv'd !  
 Yet, though not *Solomon*, my *Friend* may prove  
 Much more than *Him*, the *Hercules*, in *love* !

Words might be wanting, should I strive to tell  
 Within this Paradise what Pleasures dwell !  
 More than in skies where fabled Gods reside,  
 And find their joys to sorrows close-allied.

Thus, sure that those chimeras, all, are vain  
 Which flatter us that we shall *good* obtain,  
*You*, careless, with *no* dangers at your side,  
 Like the safe vessel, in the haven, ride.  
*You*, unmolested, think, enjoy, produce ;  
 Turn acquisitions to their *noblest* use ;  
 In well-selected pleasures pass the hours,  
 And strew the ground on which you tread with flow'rs.

'Tis from *this* choice, that *we*, on earth, perceive  
 How judge the *Wise*, and how the *Fools* believe.  
*These*, through the pilgrimage of stinted days,  
 To scare their minds a thousand phantoms raise ;  
 Amidst their schemes perplexity intrudes,  
 And Death the Farce of fruitless toils concludes :  
 But, *Those*, disdaining such pursuits to prize,  
 Enjoying life, seize pleasures as they rise.  
 This lot, Dear Count, is your's ! Believe one Truth :  
*Pleasure's the God which renovates your youth !*  
 And, long in health, upon the breast of Joy,  
 May You an Age of filken Years enjoy !

(141) In the historical memoir on the last year of the life of Frederick II. by M. de Hertzberg, p. 10, we read, that " In the night between the 16th and 17th he ceased to live, exhaling  
 " his

“ his great soul without any convulsive motion, *in my presence,* “ *and in that of our worthy associate the physician Selle.*” This passage might induce us to imagine that we had been mistaken in advancing that there was no person in the king’s chamber when he expired, but the hussars of the household and some servants. Yet, we thought ourselves warranted to advance this assertion by several letters from Potsdam, and a description of the death of this prince, printed in that town under the eyes of government. We deem ourselves justified in following these documents ; if we are deceived, we do justice to M. de Hertzberg in citing his relation.

(142) This must only be generally understood. We have had the personal opportunity of knowing some respectable characters belonging to the tribunals of Berlin, but they lamented it.

Some persons might discover a contradiction in what we have just advanced, and in another passage where we observe that Frederick conceived a horror against arbitrary government. But, it must be remarked that there is a difference between arbitrary and absolute government. Frederick wished to have every thing executed according to his will ; but, he almost always decided, or imagined he decided, on the principles of sound policy, justice, and equity, in which he did not conceive himself acting arbitrarily. Besides that we must distinguish between the last years of Frederick and the former part of his reign. In the latter he did sometimes pay the tribute to nature. He had often said himself in his youth, that an old king almost always became a tyrant. With this mode of thinking it is astonishing he should not have laboured to give his laws that sacred character which places them out of the reach of the sovereign himself, and thus have taught his successors to pay an inviolable respect to their oracles. A man of wit has reproached Frederick with his prohibitions against the importation of eggs, mouse-traps,

traps, &c. which he calls ridiculous. I do not know whether it be fair to treat with such severity ordinances issued by Frederick only in the last years of his life. This circumstance should have entitled them to some indulgence; but, however trivial these objects may appear at first sight, do they not become considerable if multiplied. The money sent out of the Prussian states for mouse-traps, was indeed very trifling, but, added to the sums employed in the purchase of a great many other prohibited articles, which the author turns likewise into ridicule, the whole amount is considerable. In the science of finance, it is frequently by small details that great things are performed. When Frederick prohibited the eggs of Saxony, he said, "*Do not my hens lay?*" In this the author discovers only a trivial and ridiculous reason, instead of imputing it to the desire of encouraging this little branch of rural œconomy in the country. The same remark may apply to the great number of monopolies established or maintained by Frederick in his dominions. These establishments, I allow, to be pernicious in themselves, but the author does not reflect on the period at which they were established, nor the motives which occasioned their formation. The Prussian states were destitute of fabrics and manufactures of every kind; it was necessary to excite the nation to a love of industry; foreigners were to be invited, to whom it became requisite to hold out advantages and encouragement; and here was the source of the chief part of these monopolies. Could these men be stripped of rights granted them under the sanction of the royal faith? It was for Frederick to establish and uphold them; it is for his successors to judge whether activity and emulation have produced sufficient industry in the nation to risk their abolition without danger; it is for them to enquire into those which may be abolished without injustice, and this enquiry is not the affair of a moment.

(143) The king openly protected these public brothels,  
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and almost always rejected the complaints made to him against them. Formey, the perpetual secretary of the academy, opposite to whose residence was one of these houses of ill-fame, wrote to the king, desiring him to order this abandoned society to be driven to some other place, alledging that it was a dangerous and indecent spectacle for his daughters. Frederick answered thus, "My dear Formey, at your age and mine, we can do no more; let those do, who can."

(144) In the memoirs of the royal society of London, Miller the gardener, Michael Cambrune the brewer, author of the work entitled *The Theory and Practice of Brewing*, and many mechanics and artisans of genius, have found places among the Priestleys, the Newtons, the Clarkes, &c.

OTHER ANECDOTES,  
AND  
PARTICULARS,  
RELATIVE TO THE  
LIFE OF FREDERICK II.

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## A N E C D O T E S.

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*Extract of the Testament of Frederick II.*

**I** give to you, my dear nephew Frederick-William, my  
“conquered and acquired countries, my palaces, build-  
“ings, gardens, galleries, furniture, and clothes, on condition  
“that you execute my will in the disposal of the trifles which  
“I give to my relations, as a mark of my remembrance  
“of them; for, my states, my wealth, my people, all is  
“yours.

“I beg you, my dear nephew, to leave the queen my con-  
“sort the 40,000 crowns yearly which she has always had,  
“and to add to that sum 10,000 crowns a year more, which  
“you will take from such and such funds” [at each legacy the  
fund is mentioned]. “She never gave me any uneasiness  
“during the whole course of my reign, and merits respect,  
“esteem, and attachment, by her estimable virtues.

“I bequeath to my brother Henry 200,000 crowns, the  
“ring of Chydysopos set round with brilliants, which I wear,  
“a handsome lustre, and 50 anchors of Hungary wine.

“To my brother Ferdinand, 50,000 crowns, a coach and  
“handsome equipage.

“To the princess Amelia, 10,000 crowns a year, and a  
“service of plate.

“To the princess Henry, 6000 crowns a year.

“ To the princess Ferdinand, 10,000 crowns a year, and a box worth 100,000 crowns.

“ To my nephew prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, 10,000 crowns.

“ To the reigning duke of Brunswick, two good saddle horses, and a fine ring.

“ To duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, a handsome box set with diamonds, because he has always been my friend.

“ To the duchess of Wirtemberg, (mother of the grand duchess of Russia,) 10,000 crowns as a present.

“ To the lady dowager landgrave of Hesse Cassel, 10,000 crowns.” [There are other bequests, but the legatees did not live to receive them, the will being dated in 1769.]

“ I recommend to you, my dear nephew, my brave military, my respectable army, my old officers, especially those who have been about my person : let my domestics serve you, and, if old, do not abandon them, but endeavour to place them well. My first battalion of guards, and the household troops, shall have each of them two crowns, and the staff officers a gold medal each, with a die, on which you will have stricken one of the most memorable events of the seven-years war, that they may remember me and their own glory. The little legacies I make are not out of my treasury ; *that* does not belong to me : it is the property of the state ; consider it always as such, my dear nephew. These legacies are little savings ; the funds upon which they are assigned, prove *this*. To be a king is the result of chance ; never forget that you are a man. I flatter myself that there will be no disputes in my family, and that a good understanding will always reign between you, for the honour and glory of your ancestors.”

---

It has been remarked that Frederick knew men well, and was an excellent judge of their merit ; many instances, however, might be given in which he was deceived. Before  
general

general Laudohn entered into the service of the emperor, he offered himself to Frederick, and asked to serve in his troops. "*That man's physiognomy does not please me,*" said the king on seeing him; and he declined his offers, of which he had reason to repent.

Nothing was so disagreeable to the king as ceremony, which he avoided as much as possible. When he repaired to Königsberg, to receive the homage of the Prussians, he took the marquis d'Argens with him, to point out to him the ceremonies observed in France on these occasions, that he might conform to them. When the ceremony was at an end, he asked the marquis whether he had gone well through it? "Very well," said he; "but I know one who would acquit himself still better". "And who is that?" asked the king. "Louis XV." replied D'Argens. "And I," rejoined the king, "know somebody who would go through it better than Louis XV." "Who is that?" D'Argens enquired in his turn. "Baron" (the player).

Whilst Voltaire was still at Potsdam, an Englishman arrived who told the king that he could retain word for word a tolerably long discourse, after hearing it once read. Frederick put him to the test, and the Englishman succeeded. At this moment Voltaire is announced, who came to read a little copy of verses, which he had just finished, to the king. To amuse himself, Frederick hid the Englishman in an adjoining cabinet, recommending to him to get by heart what the poet was about to read. Voltaire enters, and recites his verses. The king listens to them coldly, and observes, "Upon my word, my dear Voltaire, I do not conceive what you are about: for some time you have chosen to borrow the verses of others, and pass them off as your own." Voltaire vowed that the verses *were* his own, and that he had but that moment finished them. "That may be," said the king,



“but I have just seen an Englishman who has already shewn them to me as his.” Having made this remark, Frederick sent for the Englishman, to whom he said, “Be so good as to let me hear the verses you shewed me this morning.” The Englishman repeated them without omitting a single syllable. “He must be the devil!” exclaimed Voltaire in a rage. The king, after amusing himself for some time with his fury, owned to him the trick, and finished by making the Englishman a present for the pleasure which he had afforded him.

---

At the time of Frederick’s suppers with his literati, he one day asked them, “*If you were king of Prussia, what would you do?*” Every man exerted himself to make a flattering answer, until it came to the turn of the marquis d’Argens, who replied, “*Sire, I would sell the kingdom, and buy a French province.*”

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There did exist a work, entitled *The Parallels*, which originated in the suppers of Potsdam, and was smothered in the king’s cabinet. In it were compared Richelieu and Daun, Frederick and Maria-Theresa, the king of Poland and the emperor, the marchioness de Pompadour and count Brühl, the king of England and Catherine II, marshal d’Estrées and a Danish horse.

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Another production of the king of Prussia, entitled, *An Introduction to the Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History of Fleury*, never was printed in his works. This little philosophical tract is not calculated to please theologians.

---

Before Voltaire avowed himself the author of the *Maid of Orleans*, Frederick pretended that it was injurious to the first wit in France to attribute to him so infamous a rhapsody; but, no sooner did Voltaire adopt it, than the king made Algarotti read it to him, and said, “This is not the poem I have  
“seen;

"seen; this is charming; no person but Voltaire is capable of such a work." It was, however, the very fame; but such is the influence of names!

Maupertuis had been so ill as to spit blood for three months, and his cure was looked upon as desperate, when the king sent him his physician, with the following note:

"I send you M. Cottenius, one of the greatest *quacks* in the country. He has, *sometimes*, had the good fortune to succeed by accident, and I wish he may have the same luck with you. He will order you plenty of remedies; as for me, I only prohibit drams, and those I do totally forbid you to drink."

In 1753, a man sent a work to the king, informing him, at the same time, that Voltaire and Montesquieu had found it so useful as to deign to receive and correct it; adding, that these authorities still did not satisfy him, but that he aspired after *his* approbation. The king answered him, "*You are too difficult; the names you mention are well worth those of all the kings in Europe: I accept your book, to have my name interrolled with theirs.*"

In his youth, Frederick was not insensible to the pleasures of love, but he liked to fly from beauty to beauty, and never attached himself to any particular female. He said to some person who was speaking to him of this fickleness, "It is the women's fault, not mine. I have sought for one to fix me, who has more virtue than prudence. All those I have known have coquetted with me for six months for a love-letter, and in three days capitulated for all the rest. I shall not change my conduct, till I find one who will grant me the love-letter in three days, and go no farther for life."

The

The following verses, which he made in 1736, will prove what we have asserted. He speaks of his occupations and his pleasures at Rheinsberg.

Whilst Phebus mildly darts his ray divine,  
Beneath the spreading Beech we, all, recline:  
And, still, although the carping Priests may rage,  
We meditate on Wolf's instructive page.  
The Smiles and Graces come to revel, here,  
Rejoic'd, should other Deities appear.  
When Wit and Valour set the Soul on fire,  
To Mars and Pallas we devote the lyre.  
Our goblets sparkling with delicious wine,  
We hail its God, and venerate his shrine.  
*Nor, less of Love the Votaries, at night,  
In bliss, we celebrate the Paphian rite,*

A soldier, subject to get drunk, was accused of blasphemy, of saying a great many injurious things of the king, and speaking ill of the magistrates of the town where he was in garrison. The magistrates, who wished to revenge themselves, did not fail to pronounce a severe sentence against him, condemning him as guilty of *crimen læsæ majestatis* both divine and human. The sentence being sent to Frederick, he wrote:

“If the fellow has blasphemed GOD, it is for GOD to pardon him; what he has said against me, I pardon; but for having spoken ill of the magistrates, I order him to be kept four-and-twenty hours under arrest.”

The king was greatly prejudiced against the Germans, whom he thought incapable of producing any work of ingenuity or delicacy. The count de Rothenbourg is said to have been the person who instilled into him these ideas. This count one day procured him a very handsome snuff-box, which he passed off as executed by one of the best workmen



in Paris. It so happened that this snuff-box fell out of the king's hands, and was broken. "It is a pity," said the king; "I was very fond of that box." One of the king's friends advised him to get it mended: "And by whom," answers the king; "are not all the German workmen bunglers?" The friend assured him that he knew a very clever man, by whom he undertook to have it repaired. The box is carried to the workman, who is asked whether he can mend it. "Why not," replied he, "as it was I who made it?" giving incontestable proofs of what he advanced. When the box was carried back to the king, care was taken to inform him that it was the work of a German artist; on which he coldly replied, "*It is made at Berlin! Well, then, I make you a present of it; I can make no more use of it.*"

Colonel Quintus one day presented the king a picture painted in his dominions. At first sight, he found it charming, but, on learning that the artist lived at Berlin, he said, "*No, it does not please me; take it away.*" The painter was so hurt at this contempt that he instantly burnt his picture. Some time after, the king wanted a companion to a picture in one of his apartments, and enquired after that which he had seen, to fill up the vacancy. Quintus told him of the consequences of the painter's chagrin. "What caprice!" says the king. "Yes, sire," replies Quintus, "he is a German artist, but he is as capricious as an Italian."

When the *Mara* came to Berlin, the king would not at first hear her sing, saying, "*Pho! she is a German, she will be good for nothing.*" At length he suffered himself to be persuaded, and presented her with some very difficult airs, which she sang at sight. He was charmed, and said, "*I should never have expected this from a German.*" He took her into his service, and gave her a pension of 4000 crowns a year.

Madame

Madame Karfch had acquired a reputation in Germany, by pieces of poetry full of wit, sentiment, and elegance. She one day sent a copy of verses to the king, begging him to build her a small house. Frederick every year made presents of fifty or sixty superb houses to people of all sorts, whose huts happened to lie within the plan for the embellishments of Berlin; yet, instead of granting the request of this German muse, he sent her *four crowns*. Madame de Karfch returned them with four verses, in which she made him feel that the present was equally beneath Frederick and herself. Frederick-William II. who, from the first moment of his reign, entered upon an atonement for the faults of his uncle, has built a very handsome house for madame Karfch.

Towards the end of Frederick's life, when the men of taste already mentioned had inspired him with more esteem for German poetry, he replied very graciously to a copy of verses addressed to him by a young German named Moritz, who is possessed of great talents and information, but who never should have made verses. We have seen that Frederick conversed with Gleim the poet, and his Italian chamberlain, Lucchesini, has celebrated this interview in a Latin poem, for the purpose of rendering it immortal.

The following are verses sent by Frederick to a curate who thought proper to celebrate his birth-day in an ode:

*My rhiming Friend! Presumptuous Priest! Declare  
Whence comes this rashness? Canst thou not forbear?  
Why, wretched Scribbler! in such dogg'rel vein,  
Your Sov'reign's Anniversary prophane?  
When, by yourself alone, my Herald nam'd,  
The Laureatship you, arrogantly, claim'd,  
"An Owl," (my wond'ring Consistory said)  
"From Mount Parnassus to the Pulpit fled!"  
Away with reas'ning in a case so clear!  
Home truths must strike a Poetaster's ear!*

An

An hundred thousand contestations dire,  
 Not oft, though setting learned worlds on fire,  
 Blaz'd hostile to my name : It is a fact  
 That only three my royalty attack'd.  
 Did you suppose the annals of my reign  
 Would *not* in the historian's page remain ?  
 These rest on all the Centuries of Time :  
 Far, *far* beyond your perishable rhyme.  
 Why, therefore, strive for a pretence to say  
*You* won renown when you did *mine* display ?  
*Their* tasks let others, undisturb'd, pursue !  
 Resign an office so unfit for *You* !  
 Your flocks, your *parish* mind ! The Shepherd's care  
 Is lost when, once, *Melpomene* comes *there*.  
 Permit my *Gen'ral Registers* to write !  
*Their* time's not sav'd by *stuff* which *You* indite.  
 Allow my officers their King to cheat !  
 Taxes with murmurs let my people meet !  
 How useless is the privilege they claim !  
 And, why these murmurs ? Sure, they are to blame !  
*You*, to obtain my favour and my praise,  
 Your voice must, in the pulpit, loudly raise :  
 Cry : "*Christians ! Think of Hell ! Your Sov'reign pay !*  
*" Or else, the Devil shall fetch you all away."*  
 Do *this* : but, never dare, another time,  
 Upon my Anniversary to rhyme.

Some French poets were more fortunate. M. Mayet, director of the silk fabrics at Berlin, sent him the following beautiful epistle in verse, after the peace of Teschen :

Th' imperial pow'rs which grace *thy* reign  
 Inviolable laws maintain.  
 In *Thee* what Characters unite !  
 At once, the Terror and Delight,  
 The Arbiter of Kings and States,  
 Around *their* lot *thy* Influence waits,

And



And on their various claims decides,  
 Whilst Equity the Balance guides.  
 Bright Hero! When th' intrepid fire  
 Which must a Soul like thine inspire,  
 Still fann'd by Policy profound  
 To War set the resistless Bound,  
 Of ravag'd Climes assuag'd the woes,  
 And gave to Germany repose,  
 I saw *Judaic* Cohorts rise!  
 My Peace, at *their* appearance, flies!  
 Scar'd at the acts which ill accord  
 With those of their *pacific* Lord.  
 These troops, by thirst of rapine prest,  
 Turn *thy* Example to a jest!

When War, obedient to *thy* laws,  
 In haste, from crimson'd fields withdraws,  
 Shall *such* disturb the placid reign,  
*Thy* thunder's martial roar disdain,  
 Nor, when *thy* dreadful battles cease,  
 Give *me* one interval of *Peace*?  
 Great Prince! Avert so foul a blow!  
 To *me* let streams of quiet flow!

Eight hundred crowns this daring Band,  
 With open force of arms, demand.  
 From truth my heart shall ne'er decline:  
 I own this treasure, *once*, was mine.  
 'Tis spent: and 'twere absurd to press  
 For that which I no more possess.

I suffer, that, with bounteous view,  
 Pleas'd the fair Pattern to pursue,  
 Took gen'rous acts, by *Fred'rick* shewn,  
 As godlike models for my own.  
 For *this*, a num'rous host arose  
 Of quarrellsome, rapacious foes!  
 Had I, with an obdurate breast,  
 Perceiv'd the tears of the distress,

My purse (it may be well suppos'd)  
Would have continued firmly clos'd :  
But, Misery's persuasive call  
Has eas'd me of my little *all* :  
In vain She for her Friend implores,  
As Creditors beset my doors ;  
And, whilst her grateful praise is fame,  
Debts *my* necessities proclaim.

Alas ! to *Thee* must all appeal !  
*Thou* canst redress the wrongs they feel !  
If *Dresden* and *Deux-Ponts* receiv'd  
The aid they ask'd, when most aggriev'd,  
And, in one *common* cause conjoin'd,  
Could *Thee* their dread Protector find,  
Then, let *my* wrongs, Illustrious Sire !  
Your breast with indignation fire !  
As prompt, to *this* Petition yield !  
And prove my tutelary Shield !  
Not on thine arms, which vanquish *all*,  
For warlike succours do I call !  
Ne'er may destruction reach the foes  
Which, hostile to my freedom, rose !  
That I the furious troops may see  
With quick precipitation flee,  
Some *Subsidies* are *all* I need :  
Grant these ! and I shall, soon, succeed.  
*Without the sword*, an hundred pound  
Shall drive them, vanquish'd, from the ground.

The Warrior, whose enlighten'd mind  
Glow with the love of human kind,  
Pleas'd from th' embattled ranks withdraws,  
When Justice gains her glorious cause.  
Like *thine*, his venerable name  
Takes Immortality from Fame !  
How oft has my prophetic Muse,  
(*Thy* deeds for themes rejoic'd to chuse)

Made Hist'ry mark *thy* great design,  
 In one *eternal* wreath to join  
 The Laurel and the Olive-Crown!  
 Worn with indelible renown,  
 Though we admit the *Victor's* claim,  
*Pacificator* be *thy* Name!

How bright the promise made for *Thee*!  
 Hast Thou not *one* reserv'd for me?  
*Thy* foes I paint as *overthrown*:  
 Then, Help me to *defeat* my own!

Frederick answered graciously these verses, and lent the poet one hundred louis d'or; and they were punctually repaid.

A captain, named S. . . , having unfortunately killed another officer in a duel, was taken and carried to the main guard. Frederick could not prevent his trial according to the laws; and, therefore, he was condemned to die. This prince, who liked the captain because he was a brave man, wished to save him, and secretly insinuated to the officers his friends that he should not be sorry to see the prisoner escape. Every thing was prepared accordingly for the flight, and, to facilitate it, Frederick sent for the captain that day on guard, and said to him, "*If you suffer S. . . to escape to-night, rest assured that you shall be put under arrest for four-and-twenty hours.*" The officer understood the king's meaning, and, towards midnight, invited the prisoner to take the air before the guard-house. His friends, who were at a little distance with a chaise, approached, told him of the preparations they had made, and carried him off. The next day the captain made his report to the king of the escape, and Frederick, who pretended to be greatly incensed against him, ordered him to be put under arrest during four-and-twenty hours.

When



When Frederick built the palace of Sans-Souci, there happened to be a mill which greatly straightened him in the execution of his plan, and he desired to know how much the miller would take for it. The miller replied, that, for a long series of years, his family possessed this mill from father to son, and that he would not sell it. The king employed solicitations, offering to build him a mill in a better place, besides paying any sum which he might demand. The obstinate miller persisted in his determination to preserve the inheritance of his ancestors. The king, irritated at this resistance, sent for him, and said to him angrily, "*Why do you refuse to sell your mill, notwithstanding all the advantages which I have offered to you?*" The miller repeated all his reasons. "*Do you know,*" continued the king, "*that I can take it, without giving you a farthing?*" "*Yes,*" replied the miller, "*if it was not for the chamber of justice at Berlin.*" The king was extremely flattered with this answer, which shewed that he was thought incapable of an act of injustice. He acquiesced in the miller's refusal, and changed the plan of his gardens.

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The Protestants, in general, sing a few wretched verses in their churches, and there was a project at Berlin of introducing a new book of psalms. Four parishes of that city were ready to revolt on the occasion, and complained to the king, who wrote at the bottom of their memorial:

"In my dominions every person may believe what he thinks proper, provided he be an honest man. As for the book of psalms, he is at liberty to sing, "*Now all the fo- rests repose,*" the first verse of one of the old hymns, or any other nonsense he chuses. *But let not the priests forget toleration; for, I will suffer no persecution.*"

---

Wolf, the Jew, a silk manufacturer, unable any longer to carry on his undertaking which he had established at his

own expence, without any aid from the government, sold all his stuffs at a low price, and dismissed his workmen; who, being destitute, complained to Frederick. He immediately sent orders to Wolf to give them work, otherwise he would drive him out of his dominions, and confiscate all his property, and poor Wolf was obliged to continue his manufactory at a loss.

It is well known that the king had a great quantity of small money coined of base alloy, called pieces of six fennings. With this money the soldiers, the workmen, and part of the pensions of the civil and military officers, were paid; but it was received at no royal treasury; so that the king drew all the good specie into his coffers, never to return, and distributed among the people this bad money, which never returned into his coffers. One day, Frederick, passing by a baker's door, saw him disputing with a peasant; he demands the reason, and is told that the baker wants to pay the peasant for his corn in pieces of six fennings, but that the latter refuses to take the money. Frederick advances, and says to the peasant, "Why will you not take this money?" The peasant, looking at the king, peevishly replies, "*Wouldst thou take it thyself?*" The king answered not a word, but went on.

The king was often in danger of being poisoned, but never sentenced those to death who made an attempt upon his life. One of his valets de chambre meditated the perpetration of this abominable act. The wretch, one morning, carried the king his chocolate as usual, but, in presenting it, his resolution failed him, and the king remarked his extraordinary confusion. "What is the matter with you?" says Frederick, looking stedfastly at him, "I believe you mean to poison me." At this word the villain's agitation augments; he throws himself at the feet of the monarch,

avows

avows his crime, and begs his pardon. "*Quit my presence, knave!*" answered the king; and this was all his punishment: though some pretend that he was shut up at Spandau.

From that period, Frederick, before he took his chocolate, always gave a little to his dogs.

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Count de Hoditz, celebrated for his gardens and his palace, wherein he had collected all which the arts could offer with respect to pleasure and voluptuousness, said one day to the king, "that the house of Austria had always considered Silesia as of little consequence, and that, in the time of Charles VI. it was even looked upon as a possession of slight importance." "*Then I have done well to take it from them,*" replied Frederick.

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Nothing was more disagreeable to Frederick than the indiscretion of the people about him. In 1756, some time before the commencement of the seven-years war, a serjeant of his guards asked him for a furlough to go into Westphalia, his native country. "*My friend,*" answers the king, "*this is not the time to demand a furlough! We shall march very soon.*" A few moments after, hearing the pages disputing in the anti-chamber, he listens at the door. One of them said "Where do you think we shall go?" "Into Silesia," replied the other. "Good!" rejoined the first, "you are all mistaken; it is to Saxony we are going." "No, *my friend,*" observed the king, opening the door, "*it is to Spandau,*" where he sent the young gentleman for some time, who had guessed so well.

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Previous to the campaign of 1756, the king went to pay a visit to a general's widow, who had very handsome men in her service. "It is a pity," said he to his attendants, "that such strapping fellows should serve a woman." "If



"your majesty orders it," replied the officers in his suit, "we can easily procure them." "Well," replied the king, "do so, provided it be in a proper way."

They took advantage of this word, and the patrols soon ran over Berlin, carrying off merchants clerks, hair-dressers, and other journeymen, dragging the servants from behind carriages, and conveying them all to the guard-house. The people of Berlin were terrified at this violence, and shut their doors; not a soul was to be seen in the streets, and only the bitterest complaints were to be heard. As soon as the king knew of these outrages, he, in a violent rage, ordered all persons thus taken to be released, and assured the citizens that they need not be under apprehensions of further violence, the whole having been committed against his will. The king has often said *that this was the most disagreeable day of his whole reign.*

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The king having raised a new regiment, some Italian officers asked for commissions in it; but, when the commandant proposed them to the king, he answered:

"My dear Colonel,

"I am very fond of the Italians, and give sufficient proof of it by the large salaries which I pay to the singers of my opera. But, in my armies, I should be afraid of the effeminacy and the cowardice with which they are reproached. Accordingly, you may politely thank the petitioners."

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At the end of a bloody battle, Frederick asked his officers, "Who, in *their* opinion, had shewn the most bravery that day." "*Your majesty, sire,*" was the general reply; and the king, who expected this answer, said, "*No: you are in the wrong: it is a fifer whom I passed twenty times during the engagement, and who, from the first charge to the very last, never ceased from the performance of his martial airs.*"

The king, perceiving a Dutch merchant one day at Sans-Souci, accosted him, and asked whether he desired to see the garden. The merchant, not knowing him, answered, "That he was at a loss to know whether such a permission could be granted when the king was there." "Give yourself no concern upon this account," said Frederick, "I will conduct you." He shewed the merchant the most beautiful parts of the garden, asking his opinion of what he had seen. At parting, the merchant drew out his purse, and expressed an intention to give some money to his guide. "*By no means,*" observed the king; "*we are forbidden to receive vails, and, if the king should know it, he would punish us.*" The merchant thanked him very politely, and retired, under the persuasion that he was the inspector of the gardens. But he had only taken a few steps before he met the gardener, who said to him, roughly, "*What are you doing here? There is the king!*" The Dutchman related to him what had happened, and highly commended the politeness of the person who had shewn him the garden. "*And do you know who it is?*" rejoined the gardener; "*it is the king himself.*" We may imagine the astonishment of the merchant.

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The king, passing a few days at Cleves after the seven-years war, had a state of the province laid before him, and was surprised to find a considerable sum paid annually to the Cordeliers out of the receipt of the forests. "Why all this sum to these monks?" says the king to the president. "Sire," replied he, "it is a legacy of the last dukes for masses to the repose of their souls." "Is this contribution never to cease? Where is the convent? I would speak with the guardian." "Sire, it is behind the park." "I will go there at three o'clock. Let the monks be told of it."

At the appointed hour the king repairs to the convent. The monks come to receive him in procession, and, as soon as he appeared, struck up the canticle of Saint Ambrose. The king says to the guardian, on approaching him, "Are you the superior of the convent?" "Yes, sire." "You receive, gentlemen, a large sum every year out of the revenue of the forests; what is the reason of that?" "Sire, it is a legacy of the last dukes of Cleves, and we are obliged to say so many dead masses for them, to get their souls out of purgatory." "My poor cousins! they stay a long time in purgatory. Could not you tell me whether they will soon come out of it?" "Not *precisely*, sire; but, the moment they *do* escape, I shall not fail to send an express to Potzdam to inform your majesty."

The king burst into a fit of laughter; and, turning to the president, said, "There is nothing to be made of this man; he has certainly studied among the Jesuits."

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A reduced officer, who had served as a brave man in quality of lieutenant-colonel during the seven-years war, attended every day in the king's anti-chamber to demand a pension. The king had often said to him, "*Have a little patience, I cannot yet do anything for you.*" The officer did not give up the point, but, where-ever he could find the king, besieged him with his demands. Frederick, wearied with this importunity, ordered him to be refused admission for the future. In the mean while there appeared a most violent satire against the king; and Frederick, contrary to his usual forbearance, offered fifty louis-d'or to any person who should discover the author. The next day the lieutenant-colonel presents himself at the palace, and is refused entrance. He insists upon not being excluded, declaring that he has something of importance to communicate to his majesty. He is announced, therefore, and enters. "*Have I not al-*  
ready



"*ready told you,*" exclaims Frederick on seeing him, "*that I can do nothing at present for you?*" "I do not ask any thing," replies the officer. "But, your majesty has promised fifty louis to any person who shall discover the author of the new pamphlet written against you; I am the author. Punish the criminal, but pay that money to my wife, that she may get bread for her unhappy children." "*The Devil confound you!*" says the king, "*you shall go to Spandau.*" "Sire, I submit to whatsoever your majesty thinks fit to order respecting me; but pay the fifty louis." "In an hour's time your wife shall have them. Stop a moment." The king sits down to a table, writes a letter, and gives it to the officer, saying, "You will deliver this letter to the commandant of Spandau, and tell him I forbid him to open it before dinner." After this, he orders the officer to be conducted to Spandau. He arrives, presents the letter to the commandant, and tells him the king's order. During the dinner, the poor man remained under the most dreadful apprehensions. At length, the letter is opened, and the commandant reads as follows:

"The bearer of this letter is named commandant of the fortress of Spandau. His wife and children shall be with him in a few hours with fifty louis. The late commandant of Spandau will repair to Berlin, where a better place is destined for him." Let the reader judge of their mutual surprize!

The king saw one day from his window a number of people reading a paper that was pasted up, and directed one of his pages to see what were its contents. The page, on his return, tells him that it is a satirical writing against his person. "*It is too high,*" says he; "*go and take it down, and place it lower, that they may read it more at their ease.*"

A libel had been just published against the king, when a man *in office*, with more pride than judgment, thought proper to complain of some criticisms on his works. The king replied to him, "*What the devil! do you take it into your head, likewise, to turn scribbler, when you have so many other things to mind?*"

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Nothing was more truly comic than the zeal with which the king's civil officers exercised their functions when they had extorted some order from him against the liberty of the press. A sort of attorney-general, called the *Fiscal General* in the king's dominions, after a publication of this nature, wishing to shew that he understood his trade, commenced a prosecution against the author of a German work entitled *The Greedy Dog*. The good magistrate pretended that the dog could be meant only for the king himself. The prosecution went on, and the grave magistrates were on the point of condemning the author of *The Greedy Dog*, as guilty *læsæ majestatis*, when a hunter after old books came to lodge a complaint against the author, asserting that he was the person designated by *The Greedy Dog*. The king laughed heartily at the adventure, and begged the fiscal, in future, not to be so alert in applying to him all the nonsense which might be written.

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During the war, when on any difficult march, Frederick generally went a foot-pace in the midst of his soldiers, whom he encouraged by entering into familiar conversation with them. Once, when the army were greatly fatigued, he made them continue their march early in the morning, in a heavy rain mixed with snow, and through roads almost impassable. Discovering, by the faces and the silence of the soldiers, that they were not too well satisfied with him, he put himself at their head, and proceeded at the same pace with

with them. After marching thus in silence for a few minutes, he suddenly turned about to his soldiers, and exclaimed, "*Come along, my friends; march! If we were a set of effeminate miscreants, we might now be sitting in our night-gowns by a warm stove; but, remember that we are men, we are soldiers. March!*"

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A major-general in the Prussian service, of the greatest talents and merit, was constantly talking of liberty and the humiliating chains of despotism. The king wrote to him, "*Monsieur the major-general, I beg you will no longer act Brutus in my states, otherwise I shall be obliged to conspire against your liberty.*"

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The king, reading once in a newspaper, that Bahrdt, a doctor in theology, had been called to Halle, with a salary of 4000 crowns a year, exclaimed, "*What! 4000 crowns to a doctor of divinity! that is rather too much.*" and he immediately wrote to his minister de Zedlitz, "That he had read in a newspaper, that a certain Doctor Bahrdt was invited to Halle on a salary of 4000 crowns, and it seemed as if he ought to have been previously consulted in the affair." Zedlitz, piqued at the king's reproach, without entering into any explanation, replied, "That, if his majesty wished to make him responsible for every thing the news-writers thought proper to advance, he found himself under the necessity of declaring, that his place would become very disagreeable to him, and should beg leave to resign." Frederick sent the letter back to the minister, after writing at the bottom, "*There! there! there is no harm in asking!*"

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Frederick, travelling through Holland incognito with a man of the name of Balby, wanted to purchase a very high-priced picture. The merchant who possessed this masterpiece



piece of the art, after eying them from head to foot, said, "They were not people to pay for such an acquisition, at a price beyond what the king of Poland and the emperor had refused to give." "Gracious Heaven!" says Balby, in a rage, "why may not we have a commission from a king too," naming the king of Prussia. On this the good Dutchman changed his tone. "God preserve me," says he, "from selling my picture to that atheist king! I will not contribute to the satisfaction of a man who disbelieves in God."

On quitting the merchant, the king went to the Exchange, and ordered Balby to question the merchants respecting commerce, and likewise what they thought of the differences between Prussia and Saxony. The first to whom he addressed himself, said, "That the king was greatly in the wrong, and must have lost his senses; for he injured *himself* infinitely more than Saxony." Frederick, who wished to hear no more, pulled Balby by the sleeve, and they walked away.

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A young officer sometimes quitted his uniform, though such a deviation from military dress was severely prohibited, and put on a green coat to go on parties of pleasure. Imagining the king was absent, he went, thus clad, to walk with his mistress in the gardens of Sans-Souci. At the winding of an alley, however, he perceives the king, who distinguished him by his regimental sword, which he had imprudently put on. "Who are you?" says Frederick to him. "Sire," replies the young man, recovering from his fright, "I am an officer, but I am walking here incognito." The king laughed, and said, "Well, well, take care the king does not see you!" and went on.

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A man, accused of a criminal intercourse with his daughter,

ter, was condemned to lose his life. The sentence being sent to the king for him to sign it, he wrote underneath, "*It must first be proved that she is his daughter;*" and sentenced the accused to a few months imprisonment.

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At the battle of Rosbach, Frederick saw a French grenadier defending himself with desperate intrepidity against a Prussian hussar; and, notwithstanding the little hope which he could entertain of assistance, refusing to surrender, and preferring death to captivity. The king approaches the combatants, and cries out to the Frenchman, "*Brave grenadier, are you invincible?*" "*Sire,*" replies the Frenchman, "*I should be invincible, if you were my commander.*"

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One of the king's favourites, being overwhelmed with debts which he knew not how to pay, at length devised a very singular method. "*Sire,*" he observed one day to the king, "*your majesty may make my fortune without putting yourself to even the smallest expence.*" "*With all my heart,*" says Frederick, "*but how?*" "*You must be so good as to order Ephraim the Jew to give me his daughter in marriage.*" "*Are you mad? would you marry a Jewess?*" "*Sire, I am so deeply smitten with this girl and her lousid'or, that I shall have no rest until I possess them.*" The king, who guessed at his views, gave him the order. The favourite immediately repairs to his future father-in-law's, presents the royal order, and insists on marrying the girl upon the spot. Old Ephraim, terrified, represents to him the difference of religion, and the impossibility of giving his daughter to a Christian; but all in vain, the favourite would not listen to him. At length, the Jew proposed to accommodate the matter, by offering 10,000 crowns. He was still deaf to his solicitations, and answered that it was the girl he wanted. He offers 20,000; his son-in-law was still inexorable; "*What! renounce the happiness of pos-*"  
"selling

“selling Miss Ephraim for 20,000 crowns! that is not possible.” The Jew now mounts to 30,000, and *this* was the sum of which the artful lover stood in need. This proposition appearing rather to stagger his resolution, the prayers and intreaties of the Jew at length prevailed upon him, and he consented to relinquish the fair Israelite. The money was paid, and the king laughed heartily with his favourite at the adventure.

The hero of this anecdote is said to be *Quintus Icilius*. If so, some excuse may be made for the king, when we reflect that it was this Ephraim who was employed in the management and circulation of the Prussian base money during the war of seven years. Frederick, therefore, was but taking his revenge of the Jew through the medium of his favourite. The count de Guibert, however, has done well not to insert this anecdote in his *Eulogium* of Frederick II.

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One of Frederick’s singularities was, that, constantly, after the month of June, 1737, he signed himself *Fédéric*, and never *Frédéric*. He was fond, likewise, of changing names. He called Suhm his dear *Diaphane*; Kaizerling, *Cæsarion*; Rheinsberg, *Remusberg*, &c. &c.

When asked for money, and not in a humour to give it, he wrote a few words in the margin, as, *Non habeo pecuniam*; or, *I have not a farthing left*; or, sometimes, *I am as poor as Job*.

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A corporal of the guards, remarkable for much vanity, but extremely brave, used to wear a watch-chain attached to a musket-ball in his fob, being unable to buy a watch. The king, chusing to joke with him one day, observed to him, “Corporal, you are a good œconomist to have been able to buy a watch: it is six by my watch, tell me what o’clock it is by yours.” The soldier, guessing the king’s intention, draws his ball out of his fob, saying, “Sire, my watch



"watch informs me not whether it be five or six o'clock ;  
"but it reminds me, every moment, that it is my duty to  
"die for your majesty." "*There ! friend,*" answered the  
king, much affected ; "*take this watch, that you may see the*  
"*hour, likewise, in which you are to die for me.*" The pre-  
sent was set round with diamonds.

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At the siege of Schweidnitz, the king, desirous of being  
blooded in the open field, asked for a surgeon, who was  
conducted into his presence. He dismounts, takes off his  
coat, seats himself on a mound of earth, and the surgeon  
performs the operation. The blood was already spouting,  
when a bomb fell a few paces from him, covering both him  
and the operator with earth. The latter runs away with  
the utmost precipitation, and leaves the king in this con-  
dition. Frederick, without shewing the least fear, calls him  
back, crying out, "Tie up my arm, at least." At length,  
being frequently called, and, sometimes, menaced by the  
king, the surgeon approaches him all trembling. "*Thou*  
"*art a valiant fellow !*" observed the former ; "*Make*  
"*haste !*" The surgeon, half dead with fear, obeys, and  
Frederick, mounting his horse, continued his ride perfectly  
at ease.

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In one of his annual excursions, Frederick found, at the  
gate of a little town, a man who made him a great many  
bows. "Who are you ?" "Sire, I am the burgomaster  
"and inspector of the manufactories of this town." "Ah !  
"how many manufactories have you here?" The burgo-  
master named them all, and assured him that they were in  
the best state. "I am very glad of it," says the king ;  
"but, tell me, how many threads are employed for the  
"chain, and how many for the web ?" The poor inspector,  
not expecting such a question, was at a loss for a reply,  
and remained confused, without uttering a single word.

"You

"*You are a blockhead,*" answers the king; "*go and learn to know what concerns manufactures.*"

---

A peasant and his wife one day presented a memorial to the king. After informing himself of the affair, he observed to them, "You must apply to the chamber." "We have been there already," replied the peasant. "In that case," added the king, "I can do nothing for you." "*Come along,*" said the peasant to his wife, "*don't you see he has an understanding with the chamber?*" The king laughed very heartily at this folly, and took their memorial.

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Frederick, one day, rang his bell, and no person answered. Opening his door, he found his page asleep in an arm-chair. He advanced towards him, and was going to awaken him, when he perceived a part of a letter projecting beyond his pocket. Curious to know the contents, he read it. It was written by the mother of the young man, who thanked him for sending her a part of his wages to comfort her in her misery; and she concluded with the declaration that God would bless him for this good conduct. The king, after reading it, returned, softly, into his chamber, took a rouleau of ducats, and slipped it, with the letter, into the page's pocket. Going back into his room, he now rang so hard that the page awaked, and came to him. "*You have slept well,*" says the king. The page attempted to excuse himself. During his embarrassment, he accidentally put his hand into his pocket, and felt, with astonishment, the rouleau. He takes it out, turns pale, and looks at the king, bursting, at the same time, into a flood of tears, without being able to say a word. "What is that?" observes the king; "what is the matter with you?" "Ah! fire," exclaimed the youth, throwing himself on his knees, "some person wants to ruin me: I cannot account for money which I find in my pocket." "*My young friend,*" answers Frederick, "*God often sends us*"  
"good"

"good fortune during our sleep. Transmit that to your mother, salute her on my part, and assure her that I will take care of her and you."

M. Engel has taken from this anecdote the subject of his little drama, entitled, *The Page*.

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The king generally saluted every person whom he met. He was, one day, complaining at table, that, when at Berlin, he was obliged always to have his hat in his hand. Baron de Pöelnitz replied, "*But, sire, why salute all who salute you?*" "*And why not?*" answered the king; "*are they not all men like us?*"

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A professor of Halle, called Eberhård, was named to the living of Charlottenbourg by the superior consistory; but the inhabitants, who had cast their eyes upon another, protested against this nomination, under pretext that Eberhård had written an *Apology for Socrates*. The consistory rejecting their representations, they addressed themselves to the king, saying, that they could not trust the care of their souls to a man, who maintained, in a public writing, that Socrates, that abominable heathen, was saved. Frederick answered:

"*It is my will that Socrates should be saved, and that Eberhård be your curate.*"

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During one of his journies into Westphalia, Frederick changed horses at Schauen, a village forming part of an independent county. *Monsieur le comte* came in great ceremony to compliment the king, saying that he was rejoiced to see his majesty on his territory. The king made no reply, but said laughingly to his attendants, "*Here is a meeting of two sovereigns!*"

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The



The following is a striking example of Frederick's severity respecting all points connected with military subordination. A private soldier, of the battalion of guards, was so familiar with the king as to have free access to his chamber without being announced. Of this liberty he frequently availed himself to ask money of the king, which he generally spent at the alehouse. When the king refused him what he demanded, saying he had no money, the soldier used to reply, "*Fritz! look in your leathern purse, you will always find a few ducats left.*" This soldier being one day on guard, had a dispute with his officer, and presented his bayonet, as if with a design to stab him. The officer put him under arrest, and reported the offence to the king, who ordered him to be tried. The council of war condemned him to die, and the sentence being laid before the king, he signed it without uttering a single word. Every person imagined that he would have been pardoned, and the unhappy man himself was so persuaded of it, that he would not prepare for death, but, to the very moment of his execution, thought it was only intended to punish him by salutary terror. He was deceived, and suffered death.

The states of Valangin had deposed one of their ministers for preaching against the eternal pains of hell. The priest addressed the king, who immediately ordered them to restore him, recommending toleration to his judges. The latter sent a long and pompous memorial to the king; in which they represented, That it was impossible to restore the said pastor, as the people were determined not to hear of the diminution of the pains of hell. Frederick, who felt the solidity of their reasoning, but did not like to revoke his orders, returned their memorial, after writing underneath it:

"*If my subjects of Valangin wish to be eternally damned, I have nothing to say against it.*"

"FREDERICK."

Fre-

Frederick well knew that nobility bestows neither virtue nor talents, and, in general, laughed at those idle prerogatives conferred by hazard and engendered by barbarism in the darker ages. Yet, from political reasons, he would not suffer the other classes to be officers in his troops, some few corps excepted. When, at the reviews, he saw any new officers, he asked them their names, and if they were not noble, nor able to give an account of their family, he gave them a slight touch of his cane on their shoulders, and dismissed them. Sometimes he ennobled them when he discovered an exemplary instance of their laudable behaviour.

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A young officer, whom the king wanted to dismiss in this manner at a review, saying, "*You are not noble*," replied, with great coolness, "Sire, the emperor Rodolph II. threatened to impose a fine of ten gold marks on whoever should doubt the nobility of my house." "*Ab! in that case*," replied the king as he passed on, "*I am your humble servant; I have no money at present.*"

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A young officer passing in review, the king asked him who was his father. The young man told him his name. Frederick, becoming angry, observed, "He is not noble!" and then gave him the usual little stroke with his cane, and dismissed him with contempt. Some time after, learning, however, from the general, that he was of an ancient family, he sent him—to Cavalski, a regiment of punishment!!

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The king said one day at table, "I am at a loss to assign the reason, but all the plebeian officers of my troops are good for nothing, even when I ennoble them." "And yet, sire," replied one of the company, "we have colonel R . . . ." "Well," answered Frederick, peevishly, "*he is of an ancient house; I know that better than you.*" Yet he

had been *recently* ennobled; but Frederick did not like to appear in the wrong.

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A man, who had rendered great services to the king in a civil employment, requested that prince to give him letters of nobility. Frederick wrote under the petition, "*Men do not become noble by the pen, but by the sword.*" Frederick should have added—in *Prussia*.

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Frederick, one day, looking out of the window, perceived one of his pages take a pinch of snuff from his box, which was lying on the table. He did not interrupt him, but, on coming from the window, said, "Is this snuff-box to your taste?" The page, ashamed, did not know what to answer. Frederick repeated the question, and the page observing at length that he thought it very handsome, "*Well then,*" replied the king, "*take it, it is not large enough for two.*"

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Frederick never suffered the smallest liberty to be taken with the memory of the king his father, in his presence. Hearing one day that there was an old invalid at Potsdam who had served under his grandfather Frederick I. he sent for him, talked about his father and grandfather, and extended the conversation to a considerable length. The old man, encouraged by this affability, and desirous of amusing the king, said to him, "Sire, I must tell your majesty a pleafantry of the king your father, when only prince royal. Going one day from Berlin to Potsdam with the prince of Dessau, on the road they saw a shepherd sleeping by his flock, and amused themselves with cutting off the tails of his cows." "*That is not true,*" says the king with a serious air, and, turning to one of his attendants, having said, "*Give the man ten crowns,*" he instantly withdrew.

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Frederick



Frederick very highly respected the memory of the Great Elector Frederick-William, and considered him as the greatest prince of his house. When the ancient cathedral was demolished, the coffins of all the princes of the royal house were removed into the new cathedral. On this occasion Frederick had that of the Great Elector opened, and, repairing to the church, accompanied only by two aides-de-camp, contemplated for some time the body of that prince without uttering a word. Tears soon came into his eyes: he took the corpse by the hand, and, turning towards those who were present, said to them with tenderness, "*Gentlemen! the actions which this prince performed were great!*"

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The king held women but in little estimation, calling them in general *geese without brains*, in comparison of the queen his mother, and the countess de Camas. He often said that many of the misfortunes of society arose from the bad education given to the women; nor was he altogether in the wrong. But, on the other hand, why do we men so often prefer an elegant idiot, to a modest and sensible woman?

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When Frederick rode on horseback through the streets, he was always surrounded by a troop of blackguards, who exhibited all sorts of monkey tricks. Some threw their hats into the air before him, with loud huzzas; others were engaged in wiping the dust from his boots, or patting his horse, and many of them cried, "*Good-day, Fritz, our worthy Fritz! Long live Fritz!*" Frederick suffered this entertainment of the mob for hours together, and when they struck his horse so as to make him curvet, he contented himself with saying, "*Get out of the way!*" and he quietly continued his ride.

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The principal master of Frederick's music was Heine, the organist of the cathedral. He had taught him to play the harpsichord, and was a great favourite of Frederick. Heine

had a son, whom the king, at the beginning of his reign, named the receiver of excise at Ruppín. This son, who was a libertine, got in debt, and, at length, embezzled the government money which he received. As soon as the king heard this news, he sent for the father to Potzdam, and the poor man in despair expected the bitterest reproaches. The king, however, received him in the most gracious manner, enquired after his health, and talked to him of the new operas. After some time he observed, "*But, with respect to this son of yours; he gives you a great deal of uneasiness. I see very well that the young man is not calculated to be a cash-keeper; I will give him another place; tell him to be honest.*" Frederick kept his word. Poor Heine was so enchanted with the beneficence of the king, that, on calling on Sidon the master of the chapel to tell him what had happened, he threw his large wig into the middle of the room for joy, crying, "*Never was there so good a king on earth. Long live the king!*"

Frederick sometimes conceived particular antipathies to certain persons, which were not too philosophical. A man of the name of Huber, who had taught king Frederick-William I. to paint, was ordered by that prince to execute a portrait of Frederick. The latter, who never sat for his picture but once to Vanloo, refused to comply with his father's wishes. The king grew angry, and obedience became indispensable. At length Frederick sits down for a moment, takes his flute, and plays a short overture; then, starting up briskly, says to Huber, "Now, you must tell the king I have given you a sitting." Though poor Huber was perfectly innocent in all this, the king could never bear him from that moment. He had a pension of 600 crowns from Frederick-William, one half of which Frederick retrenched on his accession to the throne. This Huber, with Harper and Rode, painted the Japanese palace at Sans-Souci, after the designs

designs of Le Sueur, and the three artists put their names at the bottom of these paintings. As soon as the king saw that of Huber, he said, "*What does all that mean? Huber? I know who painted that; efface his name.*" The other two were suffered to remain.

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When he was told of Huber's death, "*Who is that Huber?*" said he. They answered that he was one of the court painters, appointed by the king his father. "*I don't know him,*" replied the king; "*he is certainly some dauber who painted coach doors after nature.*"

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The portraits of Frederick have some traits of resemblance; but the painters have tried to give him the air of an hero, and drawn him with haggard eyes; whereas nature had stamped upon the physiognomy of that prince a touch of amenity and mildness which no painter has been able to express.

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The hussar who served the king towards the end of his life, had been a surgeon. Seeing that Frederick was subject to a frequent want of sleep, and that the remedies which he took did him no good, "Sire," he observed, "I perceive very clearly that the best physician may be deceived. I have in my little pharmacy a remedy which procures sleep and creates an appetite." The king laughed, and said, "*Ab! ah! you want to become court physician, I suppose.*" "No, sire," replied the hussar, "I am not skilful enough for that department, but I wish to have the glory of doing what the whole faculty have not been able to accomplish in spite of their long consultations." "Well," rejoined the king, "let us see; I will try your *arcanum* this evening, and I shall discover whether you are an ancient or a modern prophet." The king took a potion given to him by the hussar, and slept till seven in the morning. "By all that's sacred," exclaimed the king when he awoke, "this is what you may, indeed,



"call sleeping; you are an excellent doctor." Upon this occasion, he presented the hussar with a snuff-box full of louis d'or.

A peasant called Havenbrook had a law-suit with one Mertens for a right of pasturage. Havenbrook gained his cause; but Mertens, furious at his defeat, still continued to send his cattle to graze in Havenbrook's fields. The latter directed his son, a youth of nineteen, to drive off Mertens. They had a dispute, came to blows, and Mertens received a stroke on his head, of which he died upon the day following.

Young Havenbrook was apprehended, brought to trial, and condemned to three years imprisonment in a work-house. When this sentence was laid before the king for confirmation, he wrote underneath:

"If you are judges, if you are learned and enlightened counsellors, you ought to blush at having pronounced such a sentence. My will is, that, according to the laws of reason and of nature, young Havenbrook should be beheaded."

This singular sentence is one of those strokes of disposition which characterize the passion of Frederick for universal sway. Had the judges condemned Havenbrook to die, it is more than probable that Frederick would have granted him his pardon, saying, "Have you any sentiments of justice or humanity, to condemn to death a man who defended the property which you had secured to him, and who only slew the other as you would slay a robber in your own defence." After decisions of this nature, it is not astonishing that such confusion reigned in the tribunals of Prussia under Frederick the Second. To what purpose is the best code of laws, if the sovereign be constantly on the watch for opportunities of shewing himself abler than the judges, and if he takes a pleasure in annulling their most solemn sentences?

The

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The king, in his Silesia reviews, had several times lodged at a village curate's, without having seen the master of the house. One day, being in a good humour, he sent for him.

"How do you do, curate?"—"Very badly."—"Well! well! patience, you will be better in the other world."—"I doubt that very much; nay, I am afraid of being worse."—"How is that?"—"I'll tell your majesty, if you will do me the favour to listen to me."—"Very well, let us see, let us see."—"I have two daughters, three sons, and a small curacy. I thought I discovered some talents in my boys, and I am not mistaken. I expended my property for their education; I sent them to schools and universities, and these disbursements have thrown me into debt. My children have acquired *some* knowledge, but they are not yet provided for, and are unable to return me what I have advanced them. The revenues of my living have diminished instead of augmenting; and, what is worse, I am turning old, and see no prospect of paying my debts. Now, if I die without satisfying my creditors, your majesty knows that I am a man damned beyond redemption."—"To say the truth, that is rather unlucky; I will relieve you from this alarming situation: what do your debts amount to?"—"To 800 crowns."—"I'll pay that, if you will prove to me that your children are well brought up; and then I'll take care of them, and augment your income. But where are your daughters?"—"I always send them to the town, when your majesty comes here with your retinue."—"Ah! ah! that is very wisely done. Let them come and see me to-morrow."

The next day the king had forgotten the girls, who presented themselves, and insisted upon being introduced in spite of the opposition of the servants, to whom they declared that the king had sent for them. Frederick entered into a long

conversation with them, sent for a milliner, bought them several trifles, and made each of them a little present in money. The curate's sons, who, in fact, were very well brought up, obtained places; the daughters were provided with husbands; and the king said laughingly, "*I have made a priest happy both in this world and the next.*"

A priest, not content with his salary, begged the king to order him to be paid in corn instead of money. Frederick answered:

"Things must be left upon their ancient footing. Should a hundred priests quit their curacies to-day, we shall find a thousand to-morrow to supply their places.

"The soldier lives on bread, but the priest on the celestial manna which cometh from on high; for his kingdom is not of this world. Peter and Paul were not paid in corn; nor in all the New Testament is there a single word of apostolic granaries."

A man pressed the king to grant him the title of counsellor of war, which is very common in the Prussian states. The king consented to confer it on him, "*on condition of his never interfering to give the king any counsel on affairs of war.*"

Some common girls, who were employed to represent the attendants of queens at the opera, petitioned the king to grant them an annual pension, and thus place them upon a similar footing with the other persons employed at that theatre, alledging that they could not live on what they got at each representation. The king answered them thus:

"You have done ill to address yourselves to me; this affair only concerns your kings and queens: apply to them; for I have laid it down as a principle never to meddle in the affairs of foreign courts."

One



One of Frederick's servants came to wait on him, in an elegant flesh-coloured suit, thinking by this fine dress to please the king, it being his favourite colour. Frederick pretended not to see him. The fine gentleman, perceiving that he was mistaken, slipped out and returned in a plainer dress. Frederick, at his entrance, said to him, with an air of affability, "*Tell me, friend, who was that coxcomb that appeared at Sans-Souci in a flesh-coloured suit?*"

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Frederick sent for his taylor, one day, to make him a new coat. He comes, magnificently dressed, and gets himself announced by the hussar of the chamber. The door is thrown open; he enters, pulling down his ruffles, and arranging the full-dress curls of his hair. He pulls out his scissors and measure, waiting the king's orders to approach, who was writing at the bottom of the room. Frederick pretends not to see him. In this situation he remains some time, and the king is immoveable. He coughs, and stirs a little; but to no purpose. At length, the poor taylor, becoming frightened, slips out of the room, and asks the hussar's advice. "Return home," answers the latter, "put on a more becoming dress, and the king will certainly observe you." The taylor runs home, takes off his fine coat, dresses himself suitably to his profession, and returns. The king, seeing him through the window, went to meet him as soon as he entered the apartment, and spoke to him with great mildness and affability. This disconcerted the taylor still more than the first interview,

"A good day, my dear taylor," said Frederick, "how do you do? have you a great deal of work?"—"Oh! . . . Yes, sire."—"Do you go regularly to church?"—"Twice every Sunday."—"And at home, do you sometimes read the Bible?"—"A chapter every day."—"Good; well, then! as soon as you go home, read a little in the first  
"book

“book of Daniel, turning to the eighth verse of the eighth chapter.”

The taylor, after measuring the king, returns home, looks out the verse, with the intention of having it written in golden letters in his shop, as a monument of his conversation with the king, and finds the following passage: “*Therefore the he-goat \* waxed very great, and when he was strong the great horn was broken, and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.*”

Frederick was very fond of children, and suffered the sons of the prince royal (now reigning) to come into his room at all times. One day, when he was writing in his cabinet, the eldest of these princes continued playing round him with a shuttle-cock, which falling on the table, the king took it, threw it to the child, and continued writing. The little prince continuing his play, the shuttlecock falls again on the table; the king throws it back to him a second time, casting a severe look at the little player, who promises that it shall happen no more. At length, however, for the third time, the shuttlecock falls on the very paper upon which Frederick was writing. The king now took it, and put it in his pocket. The little prince humbly begs pardon, and entreats him to give him back his shuttlecock. The king refuses. He redoubles his prayers, but to no effect. Wearied at length with begging, the boy advances boldly towards the king, places his arms on each side, and says, with a threatening tone, “*I ask your majesty whether you will give me back my shuttlecock? Answer me, yes, or no.*” The king laughed, and, taking the shuttlecock out of his pocket, returned it, saying, “*Thou art a brave youth; they will never take back Sicilia from thee.*”

\* The German word for *he-goat* is a nickname given to the taylor.

The

The young hereditary prince of Prussia, son of the present monarch, was brought up by the care and under the inspection of Frederick, who, himself, furnished the plan of his studies. A few years before his death he wished him to go through a course of logic, and composed the plan of it, in which it is astonishing to find all the nonsense of the scholastic philosophy. Frederick there recommends to the master to exercise the young prince in arguments on the principles of the *Barbara esclarent Darii, ferio baralipson*. A man of merit was appointed to give these lessons to the prince; but, having too much understanding to confine himself to this barbarous method, he was dismissed.

In a catholic church of Silesia, several silver offerings to the virgin were discovered to be missing. After many researches, the sexton remarked that a soldier was always the first at divine service, and the last in going out of church.

His lodgings were ordered to be searched, and all the spoils of the virgin were found. The soldier, however, denied that he had taken any thing, maintaining that having addressed himself when in distress to the holy virgin, she herself brought him these pieces of plate into his chamber in the night. This defence, as we may suppose, was little attended to, and the council of war sentenced him to a corporal punishment. When this sentence was sent to the king for confirmation, he ordered the catholic priests to be asked, whether, according to the principles of their church, such an event could be considered as possible? They unanimously answered, That at present miracles were very rare indeed; but, certainly, they were not impossible. On this occasion, the king replied to the council of war, as follows:

“The accused shall be freed from punishment, since he  
“persists in denying the robbery, and, according to the deci-  
“sion of the theologians of his church, the miracle he al-  
“leges



“ ledges to have been performed in his favour is not impossible. But I forbid him henceforward, under the severest penalties, to receive any present either from the virgin Mary, or any other saint.”

Frederick treated his domestics with great gentleness. During his last illness, awakening in the middle of the night, he called the servant who was sitting up in his anti-chamber, and asked him what o'clock it was. On being told that it was two, “ *I cannot sleep any longer,*” said the king. “ *See if my people are awake; but if they are asleep, do not awaken them, for they must be very tired. If Neumann*” (the hussar of his chamber) “ *is awake, only say to him, that you imagine I shall soon rise. But, remember that you do not awaken any person.*”

He generally conversed with the servant who sat up with him. The following is one of these conversations during his last illness.

*The King.* What o'clock is it?

*Servant.* Midnight.

*The King.* Ah! I can't sleep; tell me something or other.

*Servant.* What can I have to tell your majesty? I am but a poor ignorant man; I know nothing.

*The King.* Where do you come from.—*Servant.* From a village of Lower Pomerania.—*K.* Are your father and mother still living?—*S.* I have only a mother, who is very old.—*K.* What does she live on?—*S.* She spins.—*K.* How much does she earn a day?—*S.* Three pence halfpenny.—*K.* She cannot be much at her ease with that.—*S.* In my country living is very cheap.—*K.* But have not you sent her any thing?—*S.* Here and there, a few crowns.—*K.* That's well done; you are an honest fellow. You have a great deal of trouble with me, but have a little patience. I'll find out something for you, if you behave well.

The Pomeranian's turn of duty returning in a few days,  
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the king said to him, "Go to that window, I have put something there for you." The Pomeranian, seeing 30 louis d'or, could not imagine that so great a sum was designed for him, but took five or six, and, opening his hand to shew them to the king, asked whether it was that which he was to take? "No," replied the king, "take it all, it is for you, and I have sent something, likewise, to your mother." The good servant never rested until he discovered what the king had sent his mother, and was ready to die with joy on learning that he had settled on her a pension of 100 crowns.

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In the last journey the king made in Prussia (in 1784) he sent for M. de Mascow, president of justice, and spoke thus to him:

"I have named you president, and I must be acquainted with you. I am, properly speaking, the first commissioner of justice in my states, and it is my duty to see right and equity maintained in them; but I am unable to do every thing myself, and must have persons like you to maintain right in my provinces. I have a long account to give; for I must not only answer for all the evil I might do, but likewise for all the good I neglect performing. It is the same with you. You must absolutely judge with impartiality, and without distinction of persons, the prince and the gentleman, as well as the workman and the peasant. Do you hear? Without this, we shall be no longer friends. . . . Have you any estates?"—"No, sire." "Do you intend to purchase any?"—"I am not rich enough for that."—"Good! You know, then, what poverty is, and that will teach you to befriend the wretched," &c. &c.

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An ecclesiastic, of the name of Mylius, found, among his father's papers, a considerable promissory note given him by  
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the king when prince royal. Mylius sent it to the king with the following letter:

“SIRE,

“I have found the bill annexed to this among my father's papers. I do not know whether it be through negligence, or otherwise, that it has not been cancelled, and I leave the matter to your majesty's disposal.”

The king answered, “That he recollected extremely well having received the sum mentioned in the bill from his father, and that, if there was any mistake, it was more equitable that he should bear the loss than another.” He ordered the capital to be paid with interest.

The town of Greifenberg having been burnt, Frederick rebuilt it; and when the inhabitants sent deputies to him to thank him for his bounty, he replied, “It is unnecessary to thank me for this; it is my duty to relieve my unhappy subjects: and for this purpose was I made.”

When the sex of the chevaliere D'Eon was made known, the king said, jokingly, to the French envoy, “This is what happens with you Frenchmen; we think we have to do with a man, and find, in the end, it is a woman.”

Frederick could not bear names terminating in *us*. It being one day in agitation to appoint a referendary, named *Haccius*, to be a counsellor of domains in the chamber of Minden, the king wrote thus, “I consent to it on condition of his calling himself henceforward *Hase*, and not *Haccius*.” *Hase*, which signifies a hare in German, is likewise an injurious expression, signifying *coward*, *fool*.

An horse-doctor, who had laboured with zeal during an epidemical



epidemical disorder among the cattle, demanded, as a recompense, the title of *counsellor of the court*. The king granted the petition, after effacing the words *counsellor of the court*, and substituting *counsellor of the stable*.

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A similar title was conferred upon one Zorn, a commissioner of the tobacco warehouse at Halle. The king named him a *counsellor of tobacco*.

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Frederick passed a part of the summer at Sans-Souci without a single soldier for a guard, and slept as tranquilly as if surrounded by ten thousand bayonets. A foreigner whom the king had sent for, arrives at Sans-Souci, knocks at a gate; a little man in blue approaches with an easy, careless air, to open it; and this little man was the king.

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A traveller, who lodged at Potsdam, walking very early, one morning, beyond the town, saw a troop of soldiers at a distance going through their exercise, and approached them. An officer on horseback, whom he took for a major, continued riding about, and passing every moment into the ranks to instruct or reprimand the common soldiers. What was his surprize, on coming near the troop, to find that this officer was the king himself! He had a drawn sword in his hand, and continued in this manner to exercise the men, for an hour, with as much ardour and zeal as a young officer striving to please his superiors.

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Towards the end of his life, he sometimes slept longer than he intended; a circumstance which put him greatly out of humour; and he ordered his valets-de-chambre to awaken him at 4 o'clock, and even to force him to get up, in spite of whatever he might say, in the morning, to prevent the execution of such an order. A servant, who had lived but a short time with him, entering his chamber one morning to  
fulfil

fulfil this command, the king said to him, "*Let me sleep a little longer, I am so tired!*" "Your majesty commanded me to come early." "*Only a quarter of an hour longer.*" "Not a minute, sire; it is four o'clock, and you must get up." "Good!" says the king, rising; "*you are a fine fellow; this is the way in which I like to see men do their duty.*"

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Frederick possessed an excellent memory. He informed himself of every thing, and recollected the most trifling circumstances. At a glance he knew all the soldiers of his regiment who had served forty years before, when he was only prince-royal. His officers were often astonished at reviews, to hear him ask after private soldiers with whose names and age he was acquainted. Some time before his death, a good place was bestowed on a non-commissioned officer, but, when the appointment was laid before the king for confirmation, instead of signing, he drew a gallows, with a man hanging from it, on the margin, recollecting extremely well that this man had formerly been guilty of an action which merited the halter.

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In 1775, the king, speaking of what he had suffered in the course of the preceding year, recollected that a soldier of the prince royal's regiment had lighted a fire for him one night when he was half dead with cold. "I promised to give that man something," said he, "and forgot to keep my word; I should like to know whether he be still alive." One of his generals, who was present, informed the king that he was a non-commissioned officer in his regiment. "I am glad of it," answered Frederick; and, sending for him, gave him some money, and promised him the first place, destined for the retreat of the military, that should become vacant.

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Frederick

Frederick had favourites; but never did they take any part in the affairs of government, never had they the smallest influence on his projects; but sometimes on his opinions. Some of these favourites were his friends in every sense of the word. He was particularly attached to count de Rothembourg, and, as long as that general lived, he could not dispense with his company. During his last illness, the king remained whole hours together by his bedside; and, on hearing of his death, ran to his house half dressed, made the surgeon open a vein, and held the basin himself. When he saw that it was all over, he withdrew, shedding tears, and remained some time shut up in his apartment.

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The king, supping with the abbé Bastiani, one of the Italians with whom he frequently conversed, said, "When you have obtained the papal crown, (for I have no doubt that your virtues will one day procure it for you,) how will you receive me when I shall go to Rome to render homage to you?" "I will give orders," replied the abbé, "to let the black eagle enter, that he may cover me with his wings; but I will take especial care to guard myself against his beak."

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One of Frederick's domestics, who was always about his person, stole 10,000 crowns from his cabinet, than which nothing was more easy, as the king never harboured any distrust, and suffered his rouleaux of louis-d'or to lie about in all places. As soon as he perceived the robbery, he mentioned it, laughingly, at table, saying, that he was surrounded by pickpockets. But he made no enquiry concerning the thief. Some days after, one of his old servants named the person to him who had stolen the money. The king answered, in a passion, "*That is not true; but, even if it were, you should not tell it to me.*" The servant assured him it was the fact, adding, that the man had already carried 5000



crowns to Berlin, that the rest was concealed in his bed, and that he would immediately bring it if the king thought proper. "*Hold your tongue,*" replied Frederick; "*I never want to see nor touch the money which the rascal has stolen from me, and I command you to say no more to me about it.*"

A week after, the king, riding out, met the thief, who was amusing himself in a carriage. "*What, villain!*" observed Frederick, "*do you spend the money which you have stolen from me in coaches!*" and, then, he continued his ride. The next day he sent him back to the regiment of hussars whence he had taken him, where he still enjoys the fruits of his robbery.

Many of Frederick's officers, who rendered him great services, remained without any recompense, but some of them had reason to be well satisfied with him.

After the peace of 1763, Charles, margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt, dying, left considerable property to one of his mistresses. Frederick thought that this was lavishing in vice what might be employed as the reward of virtue; and, therefore, he took part of this property from the lady, leaving her enough to live comfortably, and distributed the remainder to two generals now living, Lestwitz and Prittwitz. To both he gave lands, the first obtaining them to the value of 200,000, and the second to the amount of 300,000 crowns. Lestwitz had performed prodigies in war, especially at the battle of Torgau. Prittwitz, at the battle of Kunersdorf, had given his horse to the king, who had lost his own, and, with a handful of men, repulsed a body of Cossacks, who were on the point of taking him. Frederick said, one day, on this subject, "*Lestwitz saved the state, and Prittwitz saved myself.*"

When he gave these lands to general Lestwitz, he wrote the following letter:

"My dear colonel de Lestwitz; I have not forgotten  
" the

"the important services you rendered me in the late war,  
 "and have long waited for the opportunity of rewarding  
 "you. This has never presented itself till now. Take pos-  
 "session of the estates I now give you; the act of donation  
 "you will find annexed, &c.

"FREDERICK."

An aide-de-camp, who had long served the king without receiving the slightest mark of his satisfaction, was not, however, discouraged, but redoubled his zeal and activity. Four years after the peace, he received from the king, when he least expected it, a present of 60,000 crowns in gold, and a most gracious letter.

When Frederick reviewed his troops in Prussia, in 1775, a captain of the regiment of . . . . . asked permission to sell a fine estate which he possessed, as he was unable to support it, and it was mortgaged for 24,000 crowns. On the king's return to Potzdam, he sent the captain 24,000 crowns to pay his debts, and 600 to support the expence of improving his estate.

Frederick sometimes accompanied the bounties which he bestowed on his favourites with pleasantries. Schwérin, the grand equerry, supping, one night, with the king, the latter said to him, "I know that you go regularly to church, but tell me what you think of God?" "Sire," answered the count, "I had always, heretofore, imagined that God did nothing but good, but, at present," . . . . . "Well," says the king, "what now?"—"I do not know what to think of HIM, for, HE has suffered one of my country-houses to be burnt." The king made no reply.

The next day, he said to the count, "Do you know how to interpret dreams?"—"Not very well."—"I dreamt, last night, that I was talking with God; what does

“that mean?”—“I cannot explain it, unless your majesty will tell me the subject of your conversation.”—“Well, then, I talked with God, and he ordered me to rebuild count Schwérin’s castle that has been burnt, and, in consequence of that order, I have this day given the money for the purpose.”—“I very humbly thank your majesty.”—“Well, what do you think of God now?”—“At present, sire, I think that God is very good, and that your majesty is the instrument of his bounty.”

The king’s jokes were sometimes poignant and even bitter. Colonel Guichard, to whom he gave the name of Quintus Icilius, had, among other works, written a history of Cæsar’s war in Spain. Ten years after the publication of this work, which had been well received, the count de Loloos, an able tactician, attacked it in a severe criticism. The king, on this occasion, indulged himself in a pleasantry which hurt the colonel more than the criticism itself. Quintus, asking him, one day, at dinner, permission to print a new work, he answered, “As a friend, I advise you, before-hand, to demand permission from count de Loloos.”

Some days after, the conversation at table turned on the commanders of the light troops, and the king said, jestingly, that, during the late war, they had only been commanded by robbers, and added, laughing, “Quintus had all the difficulty in the world, after the war, to lose the habit of plundering. When he is near me, I always take care of my snuff-box and my purse, lest he should play off against me a slight-of-hand trick.” Quintus, who by no means relished this pleasantry, replied, “It is true, sire, that I have pillaged and robbed, but it was by your majesty’s orders, and you had always the best share of the booty.” The king pretended not to hear this answer, and changed the conversation. Quintus, however, returned to Potzdam, and



and did not, as usual, attend the king when he went to bed. Frederick, piqued at this, ordered him not to be invited to dinner the next day. This little pouting lasted eight or ten days, when the king could hold out no longer. But, wishing to avoid the appearance of being the first to give way, he sent a light-horseman to the colonel, to ask whether he meant to laugh at him, by keeping the work which he had lent him ten days, without giving him any account of it; and he directed him to bring it himself.

Quintus replied, that the king was mistaken, and that he had received no work from him to examine. Frederick repeated the order; and Quintus, feeling what it meant, returned to the king, and the conversation turned, as usual, on the military art and literature, without a word concerning what had passed. The next day he was invited to dinner.

Frederick had not too well rewarded Quintus for his services in his life-time; but, after his death, he sent 6000 crowns to his widow, gave her a pension of 400 crowns, and paid 12,000 for the colonel's library, which was not worth 6000.

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Frederick, having commanded some work of an artist, who made him wait a long time, he sent for him, and asked why he had not finished what he had ordered. "Sire," replied the artist, "it was impossible, I have had so much to do for M. Thesen." [This was the name of one of the king's domestics, who had the care of his private cash.] The king, surprised at the extravagance of this man, was glad to have an opportunity of making his own observations upon the appearance of circumstances, and, watching the moment to find Thesen in a house which he had built near Sans-Souci, went there on foot. Thesen did not expect this visit, and was obliged to accompany the king through all the apartments, which Frederick found charming, and highly commended the good taste of the owner. When he entered

the bed-chamber, its elegance struck him to such a degree, that he eagerly desired to know who slept in that apartment? "I do, sire," replied Thesen. On quitting it, the king saw the architect, and asked him how much the house had cost. He told him 60,000 crowns. "And whence have you taken this money?" says he, turning to Thesen. "From your majesty's coffer," replied he, trembling, "but I intended to return it." At these words the king's patience was exhausted: he gave him a few strokes of his cane upon the shoulders, and said, in going away, "*But for this jessamy apartment, in which the rogue gives himself the airs of sleeping, I would have pardoned him.*"

Thesen thought himself undone. The next day, the king called him, and ordered him to open his strong box, of which Thesen kept the key, in his presence. There were still left in it 7 or 800 louis-d'or. "*There,*" says the king to him, "*take the rest; take it, and never dare again to appear in my presence.*" And this was all his punishment.

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An old valet-de-chambre of the king, who was fond of drinking, came frequently drunk into his apartment. When so far gone as to be absolutely incapable of doing his duty, the king let him quietly out by a private door, telling him to go home and sleep. He shewed this complaisance to the poor creature to avoid exposing him to the railleries of the other servants, and to the disgrace of being dismissed; and, in these cases, the better to preserve the secret, he called no other servant, but undressed himself.

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Though the king took a pleasure in throwing out the bitterest sarcasms against other courts, he did not like to be imitated in that respect. It was said one day at the queen's palace, that the taste of the court of Prussia was so depraved in music, that they had played a solo there of kettle-drums. The king highly disapproved of this innocent pleasantry.

Lieu-

Lieutenant-colonel de D . . . ., an engineer in the French service, came to Potzdam, bringing with him plans of the different fortresses of his own country. Frederick having taken him into his service, he thought to pay his court to him, by presenting him with these plans. "*I thank you for your presents,*" said the king, in receiving them, "*but, I forbid you to set your foot in any of my fortresses, since you make so bad a use of your talents. Instruct my miners and sappers; these are all the services I ask of you.*" Some time after, he was made a colonel, but never had any other employment. Frederick made use of persons of this stamp, but never placed any confidence in them.

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An Englishman talking one day with the king concerning the debates of parliament, Frederick inveighed against the want of energy in the royal authority of that kingdom, saying, "*Oh! were I but king of England,*" . . . . "Sire," answered the Englishman, interrupting him, "*you would not remain king of England four-and-twenty hours.*"

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One of Frederick's ministers of state, known to have lavished praises on him with the most unqualified profusion, addressed to him one day a pompous discourse, wherein he strove to extol his great qualities, descanting chiefly on the love which the people of Berlin entertained for him. Frederick, wearied with this vile flattery, interrupts him in the middle of his finest period, retreats two or three paces, squeezes his hat, puts himself in a tragic position, and answers, like a Mithridates of the theatre,

"Believe me! Mortals (whom too well I know)

"Deserve not that we deign to be their king."

The poor minister was obliged to close his harangue, and retired covered with confusion.



When Frederick was told of the revolution in Denmark, "*Struensee*," he observed, "*is a blockhead. A man must not sleep with queens but when they reign, and he is generalissimo of their troops.*"

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The sovereigns of Europe, in general, thought proper to send men of wit to Frederick as their ministers; and it has been remarked, that it was precisely to them that he never spoke. France sent him one, among others, full of wit and merit, and who played exceeding well on the flute. Frederick could never bear him.

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A man, who asked a place of the king, meeting with a refusal, wrote to him a second time nearly in the following terms:

"I am told, sire, that you refuse me the place I ask for; but I cannot believe it, for you owe it to me, and you wish to be just. Make haste, then, to perform your duty, and justify yourself from so injurious a suspicion."

The king, astonished at this arrogance, sent for him, and asked him, "*What right have you to hold to me this language? and on what do you ground your pretensions?*" "On the necessity I am under of not perishing," said he; "it is the first of rights, and the most sacred of all titles." Frederick was silent, and granted his demand.

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Frederick did not care much about the invention of aërostatic balloons, and never would see an experiment of them.

Achard, a member of the academy, tried to make one, opened a subscription, and procured a great deal of money, but the balloon would not mount; on which a wag observed, "*Que le ballon n'avait pas volé, mais lui.*" Achard, piqued at this reproach, inserted in the newspapers a list of  
all

all the articles he had purchased to make his balloon, and proved that he was still out of pocket. This answer, however, did not destroy the joke, for, it was asserted that the philosopher should not have announced a public experiment without being sure of succeeding.

Frederick was very fond of dogs, and had always half a dozen Italian greyhounds about him. In his cabinet you saw on every side little leather balls for them to play with, and when they were ill, he directed that they should be well taken care of. In his first campaigns he always took one with him. One day that he had advanced too near the enemy, he fell in with a party of their hussars, and was obliged to hide himself under a bridge, where nobody could perceive him: his only apprehension was lest *Biche*, his little bitch, might bark at the noise of the horses and discover him. But *Biche*, as if sensible of her master's situation, squatted down by him without making the least noise. In a few minutes afterwards the king met with general Rothenbourg, and presented *Biche* to him as his best friend. At the battle of Soor, *Biche* was taken with the king's baggage, and general Nadaſti gave her to his lady, who was very unwilling to resign her. When *Biche* returned, the king was busy writing in his chamber. Rothenbourg let her in gently, but she immediately jumped upon the table, and put her fore feet round the king's neck. The king was so affected as to shed tears. A monument is erected to *Biche* in the garden of Sans-Souci, and the king kept about him to his death the numerous posterity of this faithful companion.

Notwithstanding this attachment of Frederick to dogs, he never suffered them to hurt any person. An officer waiting upon him one morning, and stretching out his arm to take a paper which the king was holding out to him, one of his favourite dogs jumped at the officer's hand, and bit it till the  
blood

blood issued. Frederick immediately took his cane, broke the dog's back, and threw him out of the window.

A French officer, named T....., having deserted, came to Potsdam, and was presented to the king under the name of count de D..... The king, finding him possessed of talents, took him into his service, and gave him a considerable pension. The pretended count was made lieutenant-colonel, and had the audacity to present to the queen and princesses a prostitute whom he called his wife. This supposed countess was often invited to the table of the queen and the other princesses. She died however, and, some time after, the real wife of the count arrived, who related that the other was a girl of the town, whom he had picked up at Paris. The enemies of the count took this opportunity to injure him in the king's opinion, but Frederick contented himself with writing to him as follows :

" Monsieur le lieutenant-colonel comte D....., or, Monsieur T....., When I took you into my service, it was totally indifferent to me whether you had a wife or a mistress. I am willing to overlook the impertinence of which you have been guilty in presenting her to the royal family; she is dead, and there is an end of it. But I advise you maturely to reflect before you present the other who now appears upon the stage. Serve me faithfully. At your age and mine we should not trouble ourselves much about women, &c.

" FREDERICK."

Frederick never could bear the poetry of Klopstock; and when attempts were made to convert him into an admirer of Lessing, " I should esteem him," said he, " if he had not written *Emilia Galotti*. But how is it possible to esteem a dramatic author who calls Voltaire a little boy, and chuses,

" for



“for the personages of his best piece, a prince who is a blockhead, a chamberlain who is a vile assassin, a wife who is a fury, and a mother who is a gossip, together with a foolish daughter and an extravagant father?”

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A letter was circulated for some time at Berlin on the weaknesses of a great princess, and when every person had a copy, he prohibited the work. It is since known to have been his own.

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A princess wrote the following letter to the king: “Sire, I take the liberty of recommending to your majesty two persons of very rare qualities. The one is a young philosopher, by nature giddy, but whom study, reflection, and, above all, misfortune, have rendered wise. The other is a formed man, who is probity itself, extremely cold and methodical, prudent, respectable in every point of view, living retired from inclination, yet, often, dissipated from duty; one of those sure and very rare characters, to whom we may address ourselves for counsel.” The king replied, “*The first has no need of me, and I have no need of the second.*”

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Several have imagined, that, towards the end of his life, Frederick had changed his sentiments on religion. Some have formed this conjecture in consequence of his forbidding irreligious pleasantries after the departure of Voltaire; others have drawn similar conclusions from the following anecdote:

Frederick, conversing one day with the countess de Camas, said to her, that he considered those persons as very happy who could believe in the truths of religion, but that, as for himself, having once taken his part, he could never change; “for,” added he, “if my subjects were to see me now go to church, they would laugh at me, and impute it to weakness.”

"ness." "No, fire," replied the countess, "you would see them shed tears of joy. Your subjects love you now, they would adore you then." It is certain, however, that Frederick never wavered.

We have observed that Frederick was very short-sighted, and sometimes found unseasonable fault with his officers; and *this*, perhaps, from policy. General de . . ., who was very fond of company and play, making his regiment one day file off before the king, the latter exclaimed, "*Your regiment is not in a line : see what it is to pass your whole time at play.*" The general immediately cries, "*Halt !*" and, turning towards the king, "Sire," says he, "there is no question here about play, but be so good as to look whether my regiment is not in a line." The king observes the regiment, and rides off without uttering a word; nor did he ever testify the least discontent against that officer for the freedom of his answer.

There being one day a want of psalm-books for the court, and of wood for the fire in the royal pew, the sexton, whose disposition was rather presumptuous, wrote the following letter to the king :

"SIRE,

"I apprise your majesty, 1. that psalm-books are wanting for the royal family; I apprise your majesty, 2. that wood is wanting properly to warm the royal pew; I apprise your majesty, 3. that the balustrade which looks upon the river, behind the church, is quite out of repair.

"SCHMIDT, sexton of the cathedral."

The king laughed heartily at reading this letter, and answered thus :

"I apprise Mr. sexton Schmidt, 1. that those who want to sing may buy books; I apprise Mr. sexton Schmidt, 2. that

“that those who want to warm themselves may buy wood;  
“I apprize Mr. sexton Schmidt, 3. that the balustrade which  
“overlooks the river does not concern *him*; I apprize Mr.  
“sexton Schmidt, 4. that I desire to have no more corre-  
“spondence with him.”

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Once, when the duchess of Brunswick was at Potsdam, the king made count Schwérin, his grand equerry, a present of a snuff-box on the lid of which was painted an ass. The count had no sooner quitted the king than he sent his valet-de-chambre to Berlin, had the ass taken off, and the king's portrait put in its place. The next day at dinner, the count affected to leave his box, carelessly, on the table, and the king, who wished to amuse the duchess at the expence of the grand equerry, spoke of the box which he had given to him. The duchess desires to see it; it is handed to her; she opens it, and exclaims, “*Bless me, what a likeness! the resemblance is perfect! Upon my word, brother, this is one of the best portraits I have seen of you.*” The king was exceedingly embarrassed, and thought the joke was carried a little too far. The duchess shews the box to her next neighbour, who makes the same exclamations; and it is handed round the table in this manner, every person admiring the resemblance. The king did not know how to interpret this matter, till the box, passing, at length, under *his* inspection, he discovered the trick, and joined in the laugh.

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A student of divinity came to Berlin from Thuringia, his native country, with the design of gaining a subsistence by teaching young people. He had quitted his country rather than accept a curacy on the condition of marrying a woman whom he did not like. His whole fortune amounted to 400 crowns, which he brought with him in pieces of money called *batzes* in Thuringia. On searching his baggage at the custom-house of Berlin, his *batzes* were taken from him



as contraband, the king having prohibited them some years before. Having no other excuse but his ignorance of the law, he was not attended to, and the officers of the customs kept his money.

After several fruitless attempts, he was advised to address himself to the king, and the following is the student's own account of the transaction.

"I drew up a memorial, made a fair copy of it, and set out for Potzdam, recommending myself to GOD, and without any money in my pocket. It was there I had the happiness of seeing, for the first time, this great monarch. He was on the parade before the palace, exercising his soldiers. When the exercise was over, he went into the garden, and the soldiers retired into their quarters. Four officers only remained on the parade, where they continued walking up and down.

"I was so troubled I did not know what to do. At length, I drew some papers out of my pocket, which were my memorial, two attestations, and a passport from Thuringia. The officers, perceiving these papers and my uneasiness, came to me, and enquired what those letters were. I communicated their contents to these gentlemen with a great deal of pleasure, and, after reading them, they said to me, We are going to give you good advice. The king is in very good humour to-day; follow him into the garden; you will not repent such an intrusion."

"I would not consent to this; but one took me by the arm, another by the shoulder, and led me along, saying, Come! come into the garden." As soon as we entered it, they sought for the king. He was talking to some gardeners, and stooping with his back towards us, to look at some plants. The officers now ordered me to stop, and made me go through the following exercise:

"Your hat under your left arm!

"Advance your right foot!

"Thrust

"Thrust out your chest!

"Raise up your head!

"Take the papers out of your pocket!

"Raise them with the right hand!

"Remain in that attitude.

"After they quitted me, turning round from time to time to see whether I remained in my position, I perceived that they wanted to laugh at my expence; but I was so frightened that I stood as motionless as a statue. Scarcely had the officers proceeded a few paces in the garden, before the king, turning round, observed my immoveable figure. He cast a look at me, which seemed like a ray of the sun. He sent a gardener to take my papers, and, as soon as he got them into his hands, went into another alley, and I lost sight of him.

"A few moments after he again appeared, with the papers open in his left hand, and made a sign for me to approach him: I took courage and advanced up to him. Oh! with what goodness he spoke to me!

"My dear Thuringian, you are come to seek your livelihood at Berlin by instructing youth, and the custom-house officers have taken all your Thuringian money. It is true that *batzes* are prohibited in my states; but the custom-house officers should have said to you, "You are a stranger, you are ignorant of the prohibition. We shall seal up your little bag; take it back, return it to Thuringia, and send for other specie." But, it was ill done to take them from you. Be easy, your money shall be restored to you with interest. Yet, my friend, it is bad to be out of bread at Berlin; the Berliners give nothing. Before you have made any acquaintances, your money will be totally expended."

"I was so confounded that I could only utter two or three words, and those not articulately. The king walked onwards as if on the point of quitting me; and then

"then he made me a sign to follow him. I approached,  
"and this is a faithful narrative of our conversation :

"Where did you study?"—"At Jena, sire."—"At  
"what period?"—"From 1716 to 1720."—"Under what  
"professor did you learn?"—"Under doctor Fœrtsch, first  
"professor of divinity."—"Who were the other professors  
"of the faculty of theology?"—"Buddeus, Dantz, Weissen-  
"born, Walch."—"Have you well studied biblics?"—  
"Yes, sire, under Buddeus."—"Is that he who had so  
"many disputes with Wolf?"—"Yes, sire, he was" . . .  
"[The king avoiding this answer]—"What other courses  
"have you followed?"—"I studied thetics and exetics, un-  
"der doctor Fœrtsch ; hermeneutic polemics, under doctor  
"Walch ; hebraics, under doctor Dantz ; homeletics, un-  
"der doctor Weissenborn ; pastorals and morals, under Bud-  
"deus."—"Do the students still fight at Jena, as they did  
"formerly?"—"These disorders prevail no longer, it is  
"possible to live as quietly there now as in any other uni-  
"versity, provided that care be taken to conform to the es-  
"tablished customs. When I first went to the university,  
"some of these *renomists*\* were expelled, and sent to prison  
"at Eisenach, where they learnt to moderate their cou-  
"rage."

"Here we heard the clock strike one. "I must go,"  
"says the king, "they expect me at dinner." When quit-  
"ting the garden I saw none of the four officers, nor were  
"they on the parade, but had joined the king. I remained  
"on the parade. It was 27 hours since I had eaten, and I  
"had not a farthing to buy a morsel of bread; not to mention  
"my fatigue occasioned by a walk of eight leagues on foot  
"through sands, and during excessive heat. In this sorrow-  
"ful situation I did not long remain before a hussar came

\* Turbulent young men are called *renomists* in the German universities.



“on the parade, enquiring where the person was to whom  
“the king had spoken, that morning, in the garden? I  
“presented myself, and he conducted me into a large room,  
“in which were pages, servants, and hussars. My guide led  
“me to a table well served, with a cover for me, presented  
“me with a chair, and said, “The king has ordered this  
“dinner for you, and bids me desire you to eat heartily, and  
“to address yourself to no person: I am ordered, also, to  
“wait on you.” I did not know what to think of all this,  
“and, unwilling to let the king’s hussar attend upon me, I  
“pressed him to sit down; but discovering that it was im-  
“possible to persuade him, I took my resolution, and began  
“my meal with a good appetite. After the desert, the hussar  
“collected what remained on the plates, wrapped it up in  
“paper, and made me put it in my pocket. As soon as my  
“little cover was removed, I saw a secretary enter, who re-  
“turned me my papers, with a letter addressed to the cus-  
“tom-house, and who counted on the table five ducats and a  
“louis-d’or, sent me by the king to take me back to Berlin.  
“After this, the secretary conducted me to the palace-gate,  
“where I found a chariot and six horses, into which he  
“made me ascend, and said to the servants, “The king  
“orders you to conduct this young man to Berlin, and to ac-  
“cept nothing, should he offer you money for drink.” I  
“thanked my secretary, and departed.

“On my arrival at Berlin, the first thing I did was to carry  
“my letter to the uncivil custom-house officers. The chief  
“of these turned first red, then pale, did not utter a syllable,  
“and gave it to another, who put on his spectacles, read the  
“letter, and handed it to a third amidst a total silence: at  
“length, the last of them told me to approach and write a  
“receipt, signifying that they had paid me, without any de-  
“duction, the sum of 400 crowns, Brandenburg money, for  
“my *batzes* of Thuringia. That sum was accordingly paid  
“to me. Then they called a servant, whom they ordered to

“ follow me to the sign of the swan, and to discharge what-  
 “ soever I owed at that inn. For this purpose they gave him  
 “ 24 crowns, ordering him to return for more if that was not  
 “ enough. And it was thus that the king returned me  
 “ (as he had promised) my money with interest.”

Nothing is so ridiculous as the anxiety of the lower citi-  
 zens of Berlin to obtain empty titles. A certain inspector of  
 the orphan's hospital at Potsdam, begging the king one day  
 to name him a privy counsellor, or counsellor of war, the  
 king replied, “ I cannot make you a *privy counsellor*, because  
 “ there are no private affairs in my orphan house; nor can I  
 “ create you a *counsellor of war*, because my orphan house does  
 “ not wage war; but, to give you a mark of my good will,  
 “ I have no objection to erect a new title in your favour,  
 “ and nominate you *counsellor of the orphans*.”

Frederick having constructed a building which, in some  
 measure, blocked up the windows of a neighbouring church,  
 the priests sent a letter, representing to him that this edifice  
 deprived them of the light, and begging him not to continue  
 it. He wrote beneath the request, “ *Happy are those who,*  
 “ *without ocular demonstration, stedfastly believe.*”

An ecclesiastic of distinction sent the king a work written  
 in his way on the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, and received  
 the following answer:

“ I have received your sins against the Holy Spirit, and I  
 “ pray God to take your spirit under his holy protection\*.”

“ FREDERICK.”

\* This cannot be rendered in English, the turn being on the word  
*esprit*. The French is, “ *J'ai reçu vos péchés contre le Saint Esprit,*  
 “ *et je prie Dieu qu'il prenne votre esprit sous sa sainte protection.*”  
 In English it admits of no point.

One of the family of . . . . . wrote to the king to ask for a place, observing that he was of the unfortunate family of . . . . . The king replied, "*I do not know that this family is unhappy; all its members have been very happy, for, they were RICH AND IGNORANT!*"

A young baron who had been at Paris, where he spent a great part of his fortune in coffee-houses, at play, and behind the scenes, asked the king, on his return, for a place. He receives a letter, opens it, and finds a *king of diamonds* for his answer.

The chaplain general of the army, having desired the king to permit him to name all the chaplains of regiments, tried to prove, by various reasons, that this would be an infinitely better method than to leave the choice of them to the colonels. Frederick wrote underneath his petition, "*Your kingdom is not of this world.*"

A young lady of Hohendorff, extremely lively and very handsome, waited for the arrival of the king at a place where he changed horses, requesting him to procure her an admission into a convent. Frederick, charmed with her vivacity and frankness, replied, "*My dear, you are not fit to be a nun; it is a husband you must have.*" "I am a poor girl," said she, "and no man will marry me, as I have no fortune." "*Oh! well, if that be all, I will take care of that.*" The king instantly asks a provincial counsellor, then present, if he was married. The counsellor replying in the affirmative, he repeated the promise which he had made to the young lady, and she returned home highly satisfied. Some time after, the king sent her one thousand crowns, with a letter, assuring her that he would make her a more considerable present as soon as she had found a husband.



An old serjeant, who had been promised a place, was continually rejected. Tired with waiting so long, he addressed himself to the king, requesting the place of an inspector of salt, which was then vacant. The king sent his memorial to the minister Werder, with the following letter :

“ I hope you will not reject my invalids. *You have been yourself a soldier.* I am still one, and am happy to see my comrades taken care of.”

A poor officer's widow, who was very infirm, having asked some assistance from Frederick, he answered her thus :

“ I am afflicted at your infirmities and your poverty. “ Why did you not write to me sooner ? At present, there “ is no pension vacant ; but, I must assist you, for your husband was a brave man, whose loss I sincerely regret.

“ I shall every day retrench one dish from my table, “ which will make a saving of 365 crowns, and you may “ depend upon this little sum, which shall be paid you on “ the first of next month, and until I find a pension for “ you ; as I have given orders to bestow on you the very first “ that shall become vacant.”

A colonel in the king's suit, who had a great many children, was under the necessity of incurring debts. The king, finding him one day melancholy and pensive, said to him, “ *You are always uneasy ; what is the matter with you ?* “ *Between friends we should make no secret of our difficulties :*” and then, without giving him time to answer, he added, “ *I have heard that you owe 2000 crowns.*” Here the king turned to the table near him, and taking some rouleaux of louis, he gave them to the colonel, saying, “ *These are to pay your debts ;*” then, giving him as many more, “ *and these are “ to enable you to avoid contracting any more.*”

One of the king's servants had put him so much out of patience that he struck him a blow on the ear, which rather deranged his hair. The latter, without being disconcerted, places himself before the glass in the king's room, and adjusts his curls which had fallen down, in his presence. "How, rascal!" says the king, "you have the impudence" ..... "Sire," replies the other, "it is only to prevent the people in the antichamber from seeing what has passed between us." The king could not refrain from laughing, and went into another room.

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A chaplain of a regiment was a great favourite of the king, who took a pleasure in joking with him. Meeting him one day, he asked him where he had been? "To see a sick man," replied the chaplain. "Ah! my good friend," said Frederick, "do me the pleasure to go and visit one of my horses that is sick." "With all my heart," answered the priest. Accordingly he went to the stables, and asked for the horse on which the king generally rode, examined him, and directed the equerry how to treat him. After this, he presented a bill at the treasury of the stables for 100 crowns, as the price of a visit made to his majesty's horse, and for prescriptions. The cashier sends the bill to the king, who says, knitting his brow, "Good, for this time; but, henceforward, I dispense with his visits." So dangerous is it to sport with *crowned heads*!

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One of his generals having desired the king to stand godfather to one of his children, Frederick himself assisted at the ceremony. The minister, who knew his disposition, instead of making a long discourse according to the custom of his brethren, contented himself with saying, "Since necessity obliges us to baptize the children of Christians, I shall now perform that holy ceremony. I give the infant the name of Frederick, and I baptize it in the name of the

"Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; amen!" "I like  
 "men of expedition," observed Frederick to the priest, after  
 the ceremony: "I will think of you." And, soon after,  
 he gave him a good living.

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Frederick was determined to have all his invalids, in some  
 degree, provided for, and would not hear reason when their  
 petitions were refused. Sometimes he even gave to invalids  
 who knew not how either to write or read, places in which  
 writing was absolutely necessary; and his constant answer  
 to all these complaints, was, "My comrades must have  
 "bread!"

In 1753, one of these men, named Werner, a clerk in  
 the post-office at Dorbesheim, being dismissed by the direc-  
 tory general, he complained to the king, who restored him to  
 his place, and wrote to the directory:

"You must not reject old soldiers who have spilt their  
 "blood for the country."

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Among Frederick's singularities, we may admit the preju-  
 dices which he entertained against certain places and certain  
 provinces. Never did he impart any of his bounties to  
 Westphalia; and he was greatly attached to the Pomer-  
 nians, because they were more submissive than intelligent.

Never did he grant any bounty or service to the inhabi-  
 tants of Strausberg, a little town in the marche of Branden-  
 bourg; and this, because, in sleeping once at that town,  
 he was almost suffocated with smoke, in consequence of the  
 chimney being stopped.

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A man of merit, born in Westphalia, being one day pro-  
 posed to him for a place, the king refused, saying, "*He is*  
 "*a Westphalian, and good for nothing.*"

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At a review, the king perceiving an officer who had a scar on the face, asked, "*At what alehouse did you get that?*" "*At Colin,*" replies the officer, "*where your majesty paid the reckoning.*"

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The king had been so often deceived that he became extremely diffident, and, towards the end of his life, believed that all mankind were rogues. A prince who was near the king at a review, on seeing the vast crowd drawn together by the sight, said, "*What do all these people live on?.....*" "*They live by cheating one another,*" said the king, "*and all of them cheat me.*"

He was above all convinced that the commissaries of provisions had robbed him during the seven-years war. The widow of one of these commissaries, who was left in poverty by her husband, wrote him a letter, begging his assistance as a recompense for the probity with which her husband had served the king. He answered, "*I tied the ass to the manger, why did he not eat?*"

In spite of his diffidence and precautions he was frequently imposed upon. He had all the treasuries of receipts regularly visited; but the cashiers, apprized of this beforehand, borrowed of the Jews, for twenty-four hours, the sums which they had misapplied. The king, informed of this artifice, ordered an immediate inspection of the treasuries, and some of the cashiers thought that they could not do better than make their escape.

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The multitude of spies whom the king employed, was a circumstance extremely disagreeable to the inhabitants of Berlin: every thing that passed in private houses was either directly or indirectly conveyed to him; and this tittle-tattle, which, in general, originated in the false reports of servants and waiting-women, often influenced the king's conduct towards certain persons, and, in some measure, governed the

opinion which he entertained of them. Having heard of a great supper given by one of his privy counsellors, at which old hock had been freely circulated, he shortly after invited this counsellor to dinner, with some of his ministers, and had only common wines served at table. "Gentlemen," he observed, "I am not rich enough to give you high-priced wines: if you wish to drink good hock, you must dine with my privy counsellors."

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Frederick, being one day told of a man who had conceived a mortal hatred against him, and who never ceased speaking ill of him, replied, "Has he two hundred thousand men? If not, what would you have me do to him?"

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In one of his last reviews, near Berlin, the king riding full gallop on the edge of a large sand-pit, the sand gave way under his horse's hind feet, and he would have fallen into the precipice, had he not been assisted by a robust butcher, who supported him on his shoulders. Frederick, not in the least terrified at his danger, calmly said, "*Thank you, friend!*" to the man who saved his life, and never took the trouble of enquiring who he was!

---

By the partition of Poland, and the king's entering into possession of that country, the bishop of Warmia lost great part of his revenues. This prelate, who was in great favour with Frederick, coming, in 1776, to pay his duty to him at Potsdam, the monarch said, "It is impossible you can like me." The bishop replied, "That he should never forget the duty of a subject towards his sovereign." "As for me," said the king, "I am really your friend, and I depend also greatly upon *your* friendship. Should St. Peter one day refuse me the entrance of Paradise, I hope you will be so good as to take me under your cloak, that no person

" may

"may discover me." "That would be rather difficult," replied the prelate; "for your majesty has cut it so close, that I shall never be able to conceal contraband goods." The king laughed heartily, and took the pleasantry in good part.

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Joseph II. greatly admired Frederick, and never spoke of him but in terms of the highest eulogium. When he heard of his death, he was with prince Kaunitz; the emperor shed tears, and the prince of course, as we may naturally imagine. It is even said, that the latter exclaimed, "*When will Europe have such a man as that!*" Upon this occasion the whole Imperial army received orders to wear mourning.

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The king, speaking one day at table of the new arrangements made by the emperor in favour of the Jews, added, "*I am delighted with all these measures, but the emperor, above all men, could not refuse taking the Jews under his protection. Is he not king of Jerusalem?*"

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Nothing could equal the jealousy which the king entertained, towards the end of his life, of whatever concerned the house of Austria. Every circumstance which passed at the Imperial envoy's was watched with the minutest attention; and whoever had any communication with him risked the king's disgrace, and a commitment to Spandau. He wrote one day to the chancellor to dismiss one of the referendaries of the chamber of justice. The chancellor, who was extremely well satisfied with the young man, sends for him, shews him the king's order, and asks if he can suspect the reason of his disgrace. The young man considers, but can think of no apparent cause. At length, it occurs to the chancellor to enquire of him whether he had any connection with the foreign envoys. The referendary only recollects a letter delivered to him by the valet-de-chambre of the Austrian



arian envoy, which he had received inclosed by the post. The chancellor desires to see the letter; and, as there was nothing in it about retaking Silesia, sends it to the king, who, in consequence, revoked the order of dismissal.

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*Instructions of Frederick II. to Duke Charles of Wirtemberg, now reigning, when that Prince attained the Age of Majority.*

The reigning duke of Wirtemberg passed the two last years of his minority at Berlin, under the eyes of Frederick. In 1744, he was declared of age, at the repeated intercession of the court of Prussia, though but sixteen. It was under these circumstances, and at the moment of his quitting the king, that he wrote the letter which we shall transcribe, with the instruction that follows it, begging him not to open the packet till the day after his departure.

“ 6th of February, 1744.

“ MY GOOD COUSIN,

“ Receive my advice as a real mark of my tenderness;  
 “ and be persuaded, that I should never have thought of of-  
 “ fering you such, were it not for the high idea your virtues  
 “ and talents have given me of your person. Consider me  
 “ as your real friend, in whom you may place perfect con-  
 “ fidence, and who esteems you too much ever to conceal  
 “ from you the truth. I have only one interest which at-  
 “ taches me to you, that of honour; for I think mine en-  
 “ gaged to see you cherished by your people, and admired  
 “ by all Europe; to see you enjoy that sort of happiness  
 “ which depends on ourselves, and to hear the unanimous  
 “ voice of mankind justify the judgment I have formed of  
 “ the duke of Wirtemberg, that in him virtue preceded the

“ number

“ number of his years. I wait with impatience for the  
 “ moment of again embracing you here ; though I love you  
 “ too much to see your departure without regret. Always  
 “ do justice to my sentiments, and be assured that I am,

“ Your good cousin, and faithful friend,

“ FREDERICK.”

“ SIR,

“ The part I have had in advancing your majority in-  
 “ terests me the more in the happiness of your government,  
 “ as I imagine, that, in some measure, the good and the  
 “ evil will reflect equally on me. On this principle, I  
 “ think myself obliged to give you, with friendship and with  
 “ frankness, my sentiments on every thing relative to the  
 “ new situation into which you are upon the point of en-  
 “ tering. I am not one of those men, whose vanity and  
 “ presumption lead them, instead of counsels, to give orders ;  
 “ who imagine their sentiments infallible, and wish their  
 “ friends to think, act, and breathe only through their me-  
 “ dium. In as much as this presumption would be ridicu-  
 “ lous on the one hand, so should I be culpable on the  
 “ other, if I neglected to lay before you what none of your  
 “ attendants, or subjects, will have the boldness to tell you,  
 “ from views of personal interest.

“ Nothing is more certain, than that all eyes are fixed on  
 “ the outset of a man who enters into office, and his first  
 “ actions generally determine the opinion of the public.  
 “ Should you begin by establishing your reputation, you  
 “ will acquire the public confidence, which is, in my opi-  
 “ nion, the most desirable of all objects for a sovereign.

“ You will every where find persons who will flatter you,  
 “ and be attentive to gain your confidence only to abuse  
 “ it, and to govern you themselves. You will find another  
 “ sort of men, likewise, and that principally among the  
 “ counsellors of administration, who will try to hide from  
 “ you

“you the knowledge of your affairs, in order to manage  
“them at *their* pleasure ; who will render the simplest matters  
“difficult, to disgust you with business ; and *in them all* you  
“will find a fixed design of keeping you in leading-strings,  
“and this under the most brilliant appearances, and in a  
“manner the most flattering for yourself.

“You will ask me, then, what is to be done ?—You must  
“make yourself acquainted with all the affairs of finance ;  
“make choice of some secretary, who has worked in that  
“department as a clerk or subaltern, and promise him a  
“handsome recompense for instructing you in every thing  
“concerning yourself. The nerves of a country are its  
“finances ; make yourself once thorough master of them,  
“you will presently become acquainted with the rest.

“There is an abuse which I have remarked in many of the  
“courts of Germany ; which is, that the ministers of the  
“princes possessed the title, likewise, of ministers of the  
“emperor, which constitutes their impunity. You feel  
“yourself the inconvenience which must ensue, should you  
“suffer such a practice.

“It is my duty, likewise, to apprise you, that you will  
“find two counsellors in the administration, against whom  
“you would do well to be on your guard ; the one is called  
“B . . . . and the other H . . . . It is for you, sir, to ex-  
“amine into their conduct, and judge how far you may  
“think them worthy of your confidence.

“Be firm in your resolutions ; weigh well what may be  
“said for and against before you take them ; but, when  
“you have once proceeded so far as to disclose your will,  
“make no change in it whatever upon any consideration in  
“the world, otherwise all will sport with your authority,  
“and you will be considered as a man on whom there is no  
“reliance.

“At the end of a regency-administration you will inevi-  
“tably have intrigues at your court. Punish severely those  
“who



“ who shall be the promoters of the first, and others will  
“ take special care not to imitate their example. Goodness  
“ misplaced is weakness, as unseasonable severity is a heinous  
“ crime. You must avoid the two extremes; though ex-  
“ cessive clemency be a defect peculiar only to a noble  
“ mind.

“ Do not imagine that the country of Wirtemberg was  
“ made only for you, but consider yourself as sent into the  
“ world by Providence to make that people happy. Always  
“ prefer their welfare to your amusements; and if, at your  
“ age, you are able to sacrifice your desires to the good of your  
“ subjects, you will not only constitute their delight, but  
“ be the admiration of the universe.

“ You are the chief of the civil religion of the country,  
“ which consists in honesty and all the moral virtues. It is  
“ your duty to see them practised; and, above all, hu-  
“ manity, the cardinal virtue of every thinking being. Leave  
“ spiritual religion to the Creator. On this matter we are  
“ all blind, and led astray by different errors. What man  
“ among us is rash enough to decide on the right path?

“ Beware, then, of fanaticism in religion, which produces  
“ persecutions. If wretched mortals can be supposed to  
“ please the SUPREME BEING, it must be by the benefits  
“ they confer on mankind, and not by acts of violence ex-  
“ ercised on stubborn minds. But, should even the true re-  
“ ligion, which is humanity, not engage you to this con-  
“ duct, it is dictated by policy, for all your subjects are  
“ Protestants. Toleration will make you adored by them;  
“ persecution will render you an object of horror.

“ The local situation of your country, which borders on  
“ France and the states of the house of Austria, oblige you  
“ to hold a measured and equal conduct towards these pow-  
“ erful neighbours. Give no token of predilection for one  
“ or the other, that they may never be able to accuse you  
“ of partiality; for, in their varied fortunes, they would  
“ not

“ not fail to make you repent, alternatively, every point  
 “ with which they might think themselves justified in re-  
 “ proaching you.

“ Never separate yourself from the empire and its chief.  
 “ There is no safety for you against the power and am-  
 “ bition of your neighbours, but in the maintenance of the  
 “ system of the empire. Be uniformly the enemy of him  
 “ who shall attempt to overthrow it, which would, in fact,  
 “ be no other than assisting at the same time in your own  
 “ downfall. Do not despise the chief of the empire in his  
 “ misfortunes \*, but shew as much attachment to him as  
 “ you can, without involving yourself in his distress.

“ Avail yourself of your youth, without abusing its ad-  
 “ vantages. Dedicate some years to pleasure, then think of  
 “ marrying. The first fire of youth is not propitious to  
 “ Hymen, and constancy thinks itself already in a decrepit  
 “ old age, when it has furnished three years career. If you  
 “ wed a princess of too great a house, she will think she  
 “ does you a favour in becoming your consort. This would  
 “ be a ruinous expence for you, and you would derive no  
 “ other advantage from it, than being the slave of your fa-  
 “ ther-in-law. But, if you chuse a wife of a character  
 “ nearly resembling your own, you will live more happy,  
 “ because, in such a case, you must enjoy more tranquillity;  
 “ and the cause of jealousy, which *great* princes always give  
 “ to their *halves*, will not be troublesome to you.

“ Respect your mother, the author of your life. The  
 “ more attention you pay to her, the more estimable will you  
 “ be. Always submit to be in the wrong, should you  
 “ happen to have any difference together. Gratitude to-  
 “ wards parents knows no bounds; we are blamed for  
 “ shewing too little, but never for having discovered too  
 “ much.

\* This was written during the reign of Charles VII.

“ I do not enter into a wide detail respecting indifferent  
“ matters, and which are, therefore, purely arbitrary. The  
“ tender attachment I have for you is such, that I shall al-  
“ ways take a sincere part in your contentment, and that  
“ I shall hear of the applauses and benedictions bestowed on  
“ you by your subjects with inexpressible joy. Every op-  
“ portunity of proving useful to you shall be seized by me  
“ with the greatest eagerness.

“ In a word, there is no happiness, my dear duke, I do  
“ not wish you, as there is none of which you are not  
“ worthy.

“ FREDERICK.”



F R E D E R I C M. H. 348

I do not know into a world of religious indifference  
and which are the only truly religious. The  
attachment I have for you is such, that I shall  
never take a greater part in your attachment, and that  
I shall bear of the spiritual and benevolent followed on  
you by your habits with insupportable joy. Every one  
of your friends of feeling which is not shall be tested by me  
with the greatest eagerness.  
In a word, there is no person, my dear friend, I do  
not wish you as there is none in which I am not  
wondering.

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# S U P P L E M E N T

O F

A N E C D O T E S.

AT the period of making a disposition for the battle of Zorndorf, and whilst the troops were quitting their encampments, the king conversed, during the march, upon different subjects, not only with his officers, but, with the private soldiers of the several regiments. Amidst a battalion of grenadiers, belonging to the garrison of Berlin, he perceived an extremely aged subaltern, whose head appeared totally bald under the rim of his cap, and who carried his wig, fastened to his knapsack. The king, advancing towards this old man, and having, with a look expressive of strong compassion, surveyed him, for some time, said: "*My friend!* "*would it not be necessary, at your advanced age, to give you some comfortable retreat? What do you know?*" . . . "Nothing, fire! nothing have I learnt. I can neither write nor read. "From my youth have I been a soldier, and the only art "which I have acquired is that of killing!". . . . "*How long have you served?*" . . . . . "Six and forty years: "but I am yet in the vigor of health; and if the war be not "speedily concluded, doubtless, my turn will come, and I "shall fall like the rest. This, however, is a consideration "which gives me no uneasiness. To a military life I am so  
Vol. II. N n "accustomed

"accustomed that I can face death without terror. And  
 "yet, there is *one* circumstance which fills me with concern.  
 "Take *that* away! and I can assure your majesty that I  
 "could expire, not merely with indifference but with the  
 "utmost pleasure." . . . "And, *what*," exclaimed the king,  
 in accents which discovered how greatly he was affected,  
 "*is this circumstance?*" . . . "Sire! I have but one boy,  
 "who seems likely to grow up into a robust manhood: his  
 "mother has taught him to read; but, I could have wished  
 "that he had learnt something more than his untutored  
 "father; and been put into a good school. Such an edu-  
 "cation would prove serviceable to him, should he be, here-  
 "after, raised to a company. But the misfortune is that I  
 "cannot afford, out of my little pay, the price of his in-  
 "struction." . . . "*Where is your son?*" . . . The father, in  
 answer, mentioned his abode and his name. Soon afterwards,  
 the battle commenced, and the old man escaped its rage  
 without a single wound; and when the hussar who had been  
 dispatched to Berlin, with the news of the victory, returned  
 to the army, he put into the hands of this brave veteran a  
 letter from his wife, in which she informed him that she  
 had been commanded, in the king's name, to deliver up her  
 son, and that he had been placed in the *Great College*, where  
 he was lodged, boarded, cloathed, and instructed at the ex-  
 pence of his majesty. Over this intelligence the good old  
 man shed tears of joy; and prayed for blessings upon a so-  
 vereign who had accomplished all his wishes.

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After the battle of Cunerisdorf, the king retired into a  
 village, where he fixed his head-quarters. Of course, the best  
 apartments were selected for his residence; but, here, as he  
 entered, he perceived two young and wounded lieutenants,  
 lying upon the floor; whilst preparations were making to  
 remove them to another place, in order that they might not  
 obstruct the accommodations for his majesty. Frederick,

observ-



observing that they were bathed in their blood, exclaimed: "*Alas! my friends, you are wounded!*" They answered: "Yes, sire! we are; but, all this may be regarded as immaterial, provided that you have gained the victory." "You have proved," replied the king, "*your heroism; the rest is the effect of chance. Keep up your spirits; a cure may be effected, and all go well. But, why were not your wounds dressed? Have you been blooded?*" "No surgeon would dress our wounds." [One of these officers had lost the half of his arm, and the other a part of his face.] The king inveighed, with great anger, against this barbarous negligence, and immediately gave orders for the attendance of a surgeon. When the latter had examined their wounds, he shook his head, and declared that their cases were hopeless. The king, now, taking these two young officers by the hand, addressed himself with the liveliest emotion, to the surgeon, and said: "*As yet they have no fever: at their age, and upon such constitutions, nature frequently works miracles.*" He then directed that they should be blooded, have their wounds dressed, and want no conveniencies which it was possible to procure. Next, turning with a threatening aspect to his attendants, he exclaimed: "*How cruel is it to endeavour to displace two poor unfortunate men, merely for the purpose of finding me a lodging! I am determined that they shall remain here until they get better, and, at least, sufficiently recovered to bear without inconvenience a removal to the military hospital. As to myself, I can cheerfully put up with a bad apartment.*" He now took leave of the wounded officers in these words: "*Courage! my friends! farewell! You may depend upon my frequent inquiries. I will take care of you, should you become unable to serve any longer. Do you understand me? I will not forget you.*" These two officers were cured of their wounds, and, after the peace, the king gave them rewards, and pensions, as invalids.

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It is well known how much the king loved and esteemed general Winterfeld. Having, one day, directed him to proceed upon an expedition, he allowed him to draft off for the service only twelve thousand men, notwithstanding a former promise that he should be supported by a body of forty thousand. Winterfeld, who conceived that the orders of the king had not been scrupulously obeyed, informed his majesty of that which he supposed to be an error; but, Frederick answered: "*My friend, it is very true that I have sent you no more than twelve thousand men; and, surely, the number must prove sufficient when it is considered that they are to be led on by Winterfeld!*"

Immediately after this remark, the king mounted his horse, took leave of his generals, and rode on for some paces; but, on a sudden, returning, he alighted, ran towards Winterfeld, and said: "*My dear Winterfeld! I forgot to give you my instructions. As far as they relate to yourself, they may be comprised within one single article: and this is that which enjoins you to preserve yourself for my sake.*" In a few days from this interview, the general died in the bed of honor, and Frederick wept over such a loss.

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The king, having entered a village in Saxony, for the purpose of reconnoitring the ground, perceived that he had approached a redoubt commanded by an Austrian captain. As soon as the latter discovered that his majesty was in the village, he kept up a more brisk and frequently repeated firing. During its progress, Frederick remained in deep thought, resting his arm against a barn, and, apparently, so regardless of the shower of bullets which fell around him, that an aide-de-camp, who attended, entreated him to retire from so dangerous a situation. But, he answered: "*Heaven will direct the ball which is to become the cause of my destruction.*" In fact, it looked as if Frederick believed in fatalism; a doctrine embraced by the generality of the celebrated heroes. In

some

some minutes afterwards, a ball struck against the barn, at the distance of about three paces from him, and was immediately followed by a second, which fell in the same direction. "I swear," said the king, "*this is exceedingly impertinent!*" "*Let these miscreants be dislodged!*" A detachment, directly, marched up to the redoubt, carried it, and took the captain and his whole company prisoners of war. The Prussian soldiers, having seized his watch, money, and all the valuables about his person, concluded their pillage by cutting off the brim of his hat. Hurt and exasperated at this indignity, he desired an audience of the king. "*Ah! my dear captain!*" "*a good day to you!*" said Frederick, when he perceived him; "*what is your pleasure?*" The captain complained of the treatment which he had experienced. "*How!*" answered the king, "*are you a stranger to the usages of war? Punishments are not regulated, upon these occasions, according to the ceremonies of a procession. You may rejoice at having escaped so cheaply. My soldiers might have taken away your life: and, surely, life is preferable to the shabby brim of an old hat.*" The captain acknowledged, afterwards, that he was the more astonished at the pleasant and familiar tone of voice in which the king addressed him, because he had always represented to his own mind the conqueror of Silesia as a fierce and imperious sovereign.

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The following anecdote is more descriptive than all others of the cool indifference with which Frederick considered danger. This prince being, one day, in the New Marche, as close to the Russian army as the intervention of a small rivulet would admit, was desirous of being an eye-witness to the position and the number of his enemies. In consequence, he advanced towards the edge of the water, followed by an adjutant, a servant on horseback, and a page, who carried his telescope. Here, alighting from his horse, he directed the page to stand immediately before him, and,



placing the glass upon his shoulder, he surveyed through it the motions of the enemy. When the Russians saw him thus employed, they kept up so incessant and nearly-aimed a firing from an advanced battery, that the bullets fell around the king, and covered his coat with loosened clods of earth. During all this time, Frederick, motionless, and with his eye fixed against the glass of the telescope, observed the enemy with the most rivetted attention. At length, an adjutant conceived that he should be wanting in his duty, if he did not apprise his sovereign of the danger of his situation. He approached him by degrees, and, gently pulling the skirt of his coat, said: "Your majesty is in the very midst of peril. Observe how the bullets, which are gathering more and more around you, have covered with lumps of earth your hat and coat!" For some time, the king returned not the least answer; but, at length, calmly inclining his head towards the adjutant, he replied: "*If you are affrighted, withdraw:*" and, then, he had recourse to his telescope. Having surveyed all which he was desirous of discovering, he said to the page: "*Thus far is well! shut the telescope!*" He, now, quietly mounted his horse, and, backing a few paces, conversed, upon different subjects, with his adjutant, the bullets still falling, in quantities, at their feet.

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As, one morning, during the summer, the king stood at the window, in the castle of Potsdam, he saw a working young man, who, bearing a bundle upon his shoulder, lifted his eyes up to heaven, and remained, for a considerable time, in this attitude. Frederick, desirous of knowing who he was, ordered that he should be introduced. "*What are you?*" "I am a journeyman tanner."—" *Whither are you going?*"—"To Berlin."—" *From whence do you come?*"—"From Leipzig."—" *Are there no opportunities for getting work at Leipzig?*"—"Oh! yes, a livelihood may be gained; but" . . . " *Well, but what?*"—"One loves to see the world; and re-

" port

“port says that Berlin is a fine city.”—“*Ay! indeed?*”—  
 “Yes, and that, *there*, a good living may be procured.”  
 —“*Certainly! yet not without industrious labor.*”—“Never,  
 “in the whole course of my life, have I been idle.”—  
 “*That’s well! Adieu! Work hard! and may heaven shed a*  
 “*blessing upon your labors!*” Then, turning round to one of  
 his attendants, the king said: “*Give that youth two louis d’or.*”  
 “Oh! fire! I thank you a thousand and a thousand times!  
 “Oh! that I could but testify my gratitude! When I re-  
 “turn to Saxony, I will declare to all mankind the goodness  
 “and the generosity of the king of Prussia.” “*No! No!*  
 “*Keep this intelligence to yourself; otherwise, all the journeymen*  
 “*tanners will repair to me in order that they may be convinced of*  
 “*the truth of your assertion!*”

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Frederick, who, in his youth, sometimes frequented the opera, and the carnival masquerades, one day, laid a wager with the baron de Pœlnitz that he could discover him, whatsoever disguise he might take the pains of assuming. At the first ridotto, Pœlnitz dressed a person of his own size and stature in the same manner as he had appeared at the preceding masquerade. With respect to himself, he borrowed a number of diamonds, and wore so magnificent an attire that the king little imagined that it was the Pœlnitz whom a croud of clamorous creditors were accustomed to surround. This brilliant mask affected to follow Frederick without seeming to know him, entered into conversation with him, and remarked, in the hearing of others, how ardently he wished to speak to the king, because he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate. Frederick, naturally curious, immediately took off his mask, and said: “*I am the king.*”—  
 “And I,” answered the baron, taking off *his* mask, “am  
 “Pœlnitz!” — “*Bravo!*” replied Frederick, “*You have*  
 “*won! But, who the deuce could have conceived that any person*

"*would have trusted you with such a quantity of valuable diamonds !*"

When Frederick travelled through his states, the burgo-master of each place where he changed horses stood always at the gate, and the king generally honoured him with his conversation. He liked plain and honest men, and those who spoke with ease, with freedom, and simplicity. Sometimes, when he was accosted by the aged, he addressed them in the most endearing expressions of kindness and confidence. Yet, he could not bear either those whose manner was embarrassed, heavy and restrained, or those whose dress and way of speaking discovered affectation. Amidst such, his interviews were either soon concluded, or he amused himself with turning his company into ridicule, by sharp and satirical remarks. Those who were strangely habited, he, usually, sent away ; but, the conceited talkers were not often so soon dismissed.

Whensoever he passed through A. he extended his hand to the ancient burgo-master of that place, and enquired concerning his health. One day, he conversed with him longer than usual, prescribed several remedies for the reestablishment of his wavering health, and took particular pleasure in observing the beautiful and white tresses of his hair. At the close of the conversation, he familiarly put his hand upon his shoulder, and said : "*Tu es consul Romanus !*"

When this old man, named P. was at the point of death, a person called L. was his successor. This last was a solemn, sententious man, whose air and discourse were strikingly descriptive of pedantry and constraint. When the king passed by A. his first question was, "*Where is my old P. ?*" Being told of his death, he drew up the glass of his carriage, and sat, gloomily, in the corner, without uttering a single syllable.

At



At another time, he, attentively, examined the new burgomaster, and, having formed a true judgment of him by his mien, entered into the following discourse: "*Who are you?*" — "Sire! I have the honour to be the burgomaster of A." — "*What is your name?*" — "My name is L." — "And you are the burgomaster of this place?" — "Yes, sire!" — "Then, You are the Atlas who bear upon your shoulders the whole burthen of the affairs of A.? How many inhabitants does the town contain?" — "Sire! the number amounts to one thousand nine hundred and seventy-three." — "And all this mighty population is governed by the laws of your providence!" — "Sire! I superintend it *sub auspiciis* of your majesty." — "But, tell me! what is that new building upon the construction of which they are at present engaged?" — "Sire! it is a fabric which your majesty has, graciously, ordered to be raised at your own expence." — "For what purpose?" — "For the manufactory of small woollen stuffs." — "Why small? why not intire bales of cloth?" — "The reason, as I shall have the honour to tell your majesty, is, that we have no fulling-mills." — "And wherefore do you not procure such a mill?" — "I must take the liberty to observe to your majesty that it is impossible." — "Why impossible?" — "Because we have no water." — "This is all a joke! I perceived, in the vale below, as I entered your city, a great piece of water, in the which it would not prove difficult to drown your most honourable magistracy \*!" — Having uttered these words, the king called out to his coachman to drive on.

---

The Germans who surrounded the king were anxious to inspire him with a predilection for the poetry of their own country. In order to accomplish this point, they, one day,

\* Such is the title of the magistrates of those towns which have not been ennobled.

prevailed upon him to admit into his presence Madame Karfch, celebrated for her verses in the German language. He directed her to repair to *Sans-Souci*; and the following (as appears from the account which she has drawn up in her own language) is the conversation between Frederick and her, at that palace:—"You are the person whom I have heard mentioned, and who has a talent for poetry?"—"Sire! I have composed some verses."—"What was your father?"—"A brewer and an innholder. His name was Durbach."—"From what place?"—"From Schweidnitz, a village near Grunberg."—"And from whence did you come?"—"I was born in Lower Silesia, between Crossen and Zulichau, at a farm somewhat like the country residence of Horace. It is called the Hammer, and constitutes a part of the circle of Schwibus."—"If, then, you have been brought up at a distance from town, without education and without instruction, how did you become a poetess?"—"I am indebted for the acquisition to nature and to your victories."—"What books have you read?"—"Sire! I have perused the works of several poets; of Gellert, Haller, Hagedorn, Ramleir, Gleim, and many others."—"Have you read none of the ancient writers of this class?"—"I understand not any language except the German."—"But, there are translations; and these you should peruse."—"I have read Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men, five books of the Iliad and Horace."—"And Horace? This is very well! But, what do you think of your mother tongue? Is it not glaringly defective?"—"Sire! I am considered as understanding my own language well; and, yet, I, frequently, run into errors."—"Oh! but, you must avoid errors."—"I shall, to the utmost of my power."—"Are you a married woman?"—"I have been, but am, now, unfortunately, a widow."—"Have you any children?"—"One daughter."—"Where is she?"—"At Berlin, in the public school. Stahl, the counsellor of the court, pays for her education."

"How

“*How old is she?*” — “Thirteen years.” — “*Is she handsome?*” — “No, sire! she resembles her mother.” — “*But, this mother has been handsome in her younger days. Where do you reside at Berlin?*” — “Sire! in miserable rooms: for lodgings have become dear since the peace.” — “*Well, but where do you live?*” — “Under the Piazzas, in a little flat-roofed house, which is scarcely better than a kind of prison.” — “*What are your means of subsistence?*” — “They arise from the succours of my friends.” — “*Have you not printed some of your productions?*” — “A few sheets of my writing have issued from the press; and of these the subject is the glorious return of your majesty\*.” — “*What profits accrued to you from this publication?*” — “Twenty crowns.” — “*Twenty crowns! Truly, it is not possible to live long at Berlin upon a sum so trifling. However, let me see! I will take care of you! Farewell!*”

Thus did the king dismiss Madame Karfch; but, far from accomplishing his promise of taking care of her, he never gave her more than ninety-seven crowns; and these were transmitted to her at different times, and in small portions. Frederick-William II. a great admirer of the German muses, by making her a present of a newly-constructed and handsome house, in some degree fulfilled the engagements of his illustrious predecessor.

A veteran officer, who had been named one of the knights of the order of generosity, by Frederick-William I. desired permission to continue to wear this order, which Frederick I. had instituted, and which Frederick II. abolished. “*Be it so!*” answered the king; “*I suffer you to wear all the crosses of all the annihilated orders.*”

During the seven-years war, an officer, having distinguished himself by marks of intrepidity to which the king

\* Alluding to the return of the king after the seven-years war.



had been an eye-witness, his majesty sent to him the order of merit; but, the former, having discovered that, if he accepted of it, he should be obliged to pay ten ducats for the instrument of investiture, refused the honour, alledging that he was poor, and, therefore, incapable of producing a sum which, comparatively with his finances, was of such a magnitude. Some time afterwards, the king directed him to repair to his tent, within which, having pointed out to him, upon his table, an hundred ducats at one end, and the cross of the order at the other, he told him to take his choice. The officer, without hesitation, fixed upon the ducats. "*You want a proper sense of honour!*" exclaimed the king, and commanded him to withdraw. In the war of the succession of Bavaria, the same officer attracted the attention of his majesty, who, for the second time, gave him the order. As he returned thanks to his majesty, he alluded to the preceding circumstance, and said: "*Sire! I shall, now, consider my advancement to this order as at once honourable and pleasing. Most freely shall I pay the ten ducats; because, since my refusal of this badge of distinction, you have vouchsafed to raise me to a company, possessing which I am, fortunately, prevented from feeling the present expence.*"

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During the continuance of the seven-years war, and when the late landgrave of Hesse Cassel was with the army, Frederick prohibited, under pain of death, the practice of marauding. The soldiers in the service of the landgrave, either ignorant of this order, or, perhaps, conceiving that they were not included within its extent, entered a village, and forcibly carried off several of the cattle belonging to the farmers. The more effectually to conceal them, they had thrown over their bodies large horse cloths, upon which was worked the arms of the landgrave, incircled by the order of the garter, and its motto: "*Honni soit qui mal y pense*" (Evil be to him who of *this* thinks evil). The king met them,

them, and said to those who were driving the beasts along the road: "*I must not look at any thing which is hidden there, because the exterior inscription denounces Evil to him who thinks evil of the concealment.*"

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During the prosecution of the same war, the king, proceeding, one day, in haste, at the head of his cavalry, listened, from afar, to a trooper, who swore and made a most violent uproar. When Frederick approached nearer, and distinctly heard him abuse his sovereign, and express his ardent wishes to be delivered from such a life as only dogs, in his opinion, should endure, the monarch exclaimed: "*I wish, also, that I was delivered from the life of which you so bitterly complain. Neither are you in the wrong, my good friend! Yet, what would you have us both do? We must be content to suffer, until the conclusion of a peace.*"

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Upon another occasion, he met a soldier, who, some minutes before, had been wounded. The king, who, at the first glance, did not perceive his situation, asked what was the matter? "All," he answered, "is well; for, our enemies are endeavouring to save themselves by flight; and we remain the conquerors." At length, the king, having observed his condition, threw his handkerchief towards him, and said: "*You are wounded, my good friend! Take this handkerchief for a bandage.*" Czernichef, then at the side of Frederick, exclaimed: "Sire! it is not astonishing that your soldiers serve you with this zealous ardor, when you shew them such gracious marks of your attention."

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A receiver-general in the domains, one day, solicited from the king, the restoration of some gallons of wine which Frederick-William had granted to him, but, which Frederick had taken away. The monarch wrote on the back of the petition:

petition: "*No! No! not a drop of wine! Receivers must be kept sober.*"

After the second war in Silesia, a coolness arose between Frederick and the field-marshal Schwerin, which induced the last to retire to his estate, where he remained, some time, without repairing either to his regiment or to the court. At length, the king wrote to him the following short letter: "*Have you then sworn never to revisit Berlin?*"

Schwerin considered this as an order, and set off, immediately. Tauber, at that time, the hussar of the bedchamber in waiting, gives the following relation of this interview:

At eight in the morning, Schwerin enters the antichamber of the king, and says to Tauber: "*Good-morrow, my friend! Is the king in his apartment? Is he ~~awake~~?*"—"Yes, sir!"—"Is he in a good humour?"—"No; I am going to wait upon him with his coffee."—"If this be the case, do not tell him that I am here." . . . Tauber carries the coffee to the king, and when his majesty had taken it, returns to the antichamber. . . . "*Well! Now, is your sovereign in good humour?*"—"Oh! yes!"—"Then, let me be introduced."

Tauber enters the king's room and announces the general. Frederick returns no answer; but, takes his flute, and plays some *capriccios*, during a quarter of an hour, whilst he walks along and across the apartment. At length, and, on a sudden, he, rapidly, places the flute upon a table, and says to Tauber: "*Let the general enter!*" Tauber opens the door, and makes the general a sign to approach. As soon as the king sees him, he exclaims: "*Ah! Schwerin! Good morrow to you! How do you do?*" And, then, having, by a nod, directed Tauber to withdraw, the latter retired into the antichamber. There he heard the king and the general talking extremely loud; by degrees, the conversation grew more and

more



more warm, and, at length, was so violently carried on, that Tauber dreaded lest it should come to an unfortunate conclusion. But, soon, both were appeased; the door was thrown open, Schwerin, with a satisfied air, made his obeisance to the king, and Frederick said to him, at parting: "*To-day, your excellence will let me have your company at dinner.*"

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A lieutenant of horse obtained permission from the king to retire to his country estate for the purpose of improving it. Skilful in the knowledge of rural œconomy, he managed his possessions to great advantage, established a colony, and converted into a fertile soil the land which was before extremely barren. Fourteen cottages, by degrees, were built upon his grounds; and to each of the tenants he gave a garden and some surrounding acres, reserving to himself a stipulated rent. Several artisans came to establish themselves in this new village, the number of houses was increased, and the colony soon assumed a flourishing appearance. The king, always particularly attentive to this kind of establishments, heard of the undertakings of the lieutenant, and admitted him to an interview. "*I learn that you are well versed in rural œconomy: have you established a colony?*"—"Yes, sire! I found a proper spot upon my estate, to the lucrative improvement of which I was not exclusively equal, and, therefore, I embraced this measure."—"How many houses have you built?"—"Forty at my expence; and several new settlers have constructed their own dwellings."—"From whence did you collect any part of the materials for this undertaking?"—"Out of my woods."—"Are they sufficiently ample to afford you the necessary supply?"—"Yes, sire!"—"Who are your colonists?"—"Either Saxons or other foreigners."... The king, now, placed his hand graciously upon the officer's shoulder, and said: "*Very well! my dear N.! very well! What does this settlement cost you? And wherefore did you not*"  
"apply

“*apply to me for pecuniary assistance?*”—“Because I had some  
“ready money for my purpose ; nor was I positive that your  
“majesty would accede to my demands. Were I to reckon  
“the value of the wood and the carriages, I might venture  
“to affirm that I have expended upon the undertaking some  
“thousands of crowns ; but, I am already in the receipt of  
“an interest for my capital ; and my revenues have been  
“considerably augmented since I first engaged upon this pro-  
“ject.”—“*Good! You shall be indemnified for your disbursements.*”  
—Some time afterwards, the king sent him a bill for twelve  
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